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CLASSICAL EXCURSION

FROM ROME

TO

ARPINO.

BY CHARLES KELSALL.

Nemo Arpinas non Ciceroni studet, nemo Soranus, nemo Casinas, nemo Aquinas : totus ille tractus celeberrimus, Venafranus, Allifanus : tota denique sua illa aspera, et montuosa, et fidelis, et simplex, et faultrix suorum regio, se hujus honore ornari, se augeri dignitate arbitrat.

CIC. PRO PLANCIO. c. 9.

GENEVA,

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MDCCCXX.

Fondo Doria
II. 153.

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DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE LUC SESTIÉ:

TO THE
LOVERS OF THE MEMORY,
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO,
THIS
CLASSICAL EXCURSION
FROM ROME
TO
ARPINO
IS
INSCRIBED.

CLASSICAL EXCURSION FROM ROME

TO

ARPINO.

I ARRIVED at Rome, after having visited Volterra and Siena. The first, one of the twelve Etrurian cities, owes chiefly its celebrity to Persius; the second claims a coeval antiquity with Rome. The view from the heights of Radicofani, and the lake of Bolsena, surrounded by the once sacred and oracular groves of Ciminus, are the only striking objects on this approach to the ancient metropolis of the world; neither will this sheet of water, shaded by the noblest oak forests, appear insipid to those, who have feasted their eyes with the superior scenery of the lakes in the Milanese.

On arriving at the Ponte Molle, by the *Via Cassia*, the carcase of a pauper, who had just died of hunger, and who clenched the railway with a convulsive grasp, inspired ideas not very favourable to the efficacy of hierarchical governments. Of all the European capitals,

Rome , during the autumnal heats , is certainly the most desolate and forlorn. A religious , a funeral procession , mendicants livid from the effects of the *malaria* , eating away with an additional kiss the toes of the *pilot of the Galilean lake* , are the objects which principally fix the attention of the stranger ; who at that season , can only hope to derive amusement from sources , which the living world is unable to afford.

But Rome , from its historical recollections alone , presents the richest compensation for the absence of that activity seen in other capitals. Athens , Venice , Genoa , furnish , it is true , the memory with a series of highly interesting events ; but they can only be contemplated in reference to one system of civil polity ; or if there be more , the differential shades are unimportant , and feebly marked. Not so the ancient mistress of the world ; which from the grandeur and variety of her revolutions , has a stronger hold upon the memory. Dupaty , in a work too enthusiastic , but not destitute of merit , arranges its history in three epochs. I apprehend that *five* will convey a clearer idea ; and that the storing of these

divisions in the mind will be of use to those, who may wish to prosecute researches in either of the epochs.

I. *Regal*. From the foundation of the city, to the expulsion of Tarquin.

II. *Republican*. From the establishment of the commonwealth, to the death of Cæsar.

III. *Imperial*. From the adoption of the empire by Augustus, to the death of Constantine.

IV. *Gothic, or Middle-age*. Comprehending the longest period, from the incursion of Alaric, to the end of the pontificate of Julius the second; before which period, the papal power, however great in the exterior, can hardly be said to have been firmly established at home.

V. *Papal*. From the accession of Leo the tenth, to the present day.

Nothing can be more gratifying than to survey from the steps of the Campidoglio, the imposing ruins of the Forum, and to dwell at the same time on the extraordinary energies of that people, who after having subjugated the material world, succeeded no less miraculously in controuling the spiritual!—On the

effects of which, different opinions will always be formed; but, I suspect, if duly weighed, the result will, upon the whole, be found far more productive of ill than good.

The five Romes, surveyed from this eminence, almost bewilder the mental faculties; and the statue of the *Dea Roma* under the upper flight of steps, appears to mutter in the surrounding desolation, the verses erroneously attributed to Erinna:

ΜΟΙ ΜΟΝΑ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΑ ΔΕΔΟΙΚΕ ΜΟΙΡΑ
ΚΥΔΟΣ ΑΡΡΗΚΤΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝ ΑΡΧΑΣ
ΟΦΡΑ ΚΟΙΡΑΝΕΙΟΝ ΕΧΟΙΣΑ ΚΑΡΤΟΣ
ΑΓΕΜΟΝΕΥΩ.

The excavations going on in the Forum, the proposal of a subscription for dragging the Tiber, together with a Spanish friar about to be laid on the anvil of the great Saint-manufactory in the Vatican, contributed however to banish the melancholy inspired by the *malaria*, which in the language of the Venusian,

Designatorem decorat lictoribus atris (1).

(1) An altar had been just discovered with the inscription:

ΑΠΩΣΙΚΑΚΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ
Ex Oraculo.

Together with vast fragments of columns, chiefly of Syenite; probably the wrecks of an earlier Forum.

The lofty ilices and pines in the Villas Pamfili and Borghese, and the spacious galleries afforded too a cool refuge from the meridian heat; and none are more deserving of attention than the Albani and Giustiniani collections; the first rich with the spoils of Adrian's Tiburtine villa; the second, of Nero's baths. In the last, a bust of Scipio Africanus, another of Alexander, both in *nero antico*, and the best reputed likeness of Mæcenas, are of sufficient importance to give a name to the collection.

Neither did the Vatican and Campidoglio unfold their stores in vain; but the latter will have greater attractions for those, who are more struck with the portraits of illustrious characters, than with the *ideal* in sculpture. Here still is seen the frank and magnanimous aspect of Julius, as if in the act of saying: *Amitæ meæ Juliæ maternum genus à regibus ortum, paternum cum Diis immortalibus conjunctum est. Nam ab Anco Martio sunt Marcii reges, quo nomine fuit mater; à Venere, Julii, cujus gentis familia est nostra* (1). Here too in one

(1) Orat. Julian. ap. Sueton.

of the finest busts transmitted from antiquity; is the *acerrima mens*, and sedate majesty of Augustus; beside him is a Marcellus,

Cui frons læta parum, et demisso lumina vultu.

Contiguous stands a Tiberius, *insitâ Claudię familię superbâ*; eyes staring, sleepless; ears as if pricked by *motus aliqui in oriente*; or by the question of Asinius Gallus: *interrogo te Cæsar, quam reipublicę partem mandari tibi velis? Perculsus reticuit.* Beyond is the republican simplicity of his brother Drusus; the beauty and virtue of his wife Antonia; the unassuming merit of Germanicus; and the *pudicitia impenetrabilis* of his Agrippina. By way of contrast, is a Valeria Messalina; elegant, beautiful, but of brazen and disgusting impudence; while a Julia, daughter of Titus, is only remarkable for its vague and singular expression. Both seem tacitly reproached by a neighbouring Plotina and Marciana; while the agreeable and open countenance of Trajan is transmitted in the noblest bust of *giallo antico* extant. Opposite stands the emperor Julian, a man of such rare endowments, as to neutralize, even the criticism of bigots; and

who, had he lived another ten years, might have left effects on the religious and political systems of Europe, felt peradventure at this very hour. Adjoining is a portrait of Marcus Aurelius, taken in his early years, and which bespeaks the candour and simplicity of his soul. The likenesses to which we can attach the greatest credit, appear to be those of Adrian, Nerva, Trajan, Lucius Verus, Caracalla, Septimius Severus, and Marcus Aurelius. It struck me, when in the Campidoglio, that the government would do well to devote the apartments in that building, to the portraits of the great personages of antiquity, reserving the Vatican for the Deities, the *ideal* sculpture, and the *incogniti*.

The architecture of the modern city is so effectually eclipsed by the Pantheon, that while that edifice stands, even St. Peter's must suffer from the comparison. It is easy to find on which side the greater merit lies. The Pantheon was built by Agrippa, and finished by that illustrious minister, in the reign of Augustus; we may conclude that it was surrounded by a portico; for Horace alludes to the *porticus Agrippæ*. It sprung, no doubt, from the mind

of one architect ; neither can we discover that it was copied from any pre-existing work. Enter this venerable pile ; which has been trodden by the great men of the Augustan age ; remove , or add any architectural member , and you will ruin its symmetry. The priests , it is true , by converting it into a church , and by the addition of insignificant altars , have done much towards destroying the bold simplicity of the fabric. Now St. Peter's , though confessedly the first modern pile in the world ; and though a great genius presided at its erection , occupied the reigns of eighteen pontiffs. Its most striking feature , though considerably altered for the worse , is stolen from the Pantheon. The general drift of the original design chalked out by Michael Angelo , has indeed been followed , deteriorated however by the *patch-work* of succeeding artists. The arcades are too colossal ; the inlaid marbles in small pieces do not correspond with the grandeur of the fabric ; the *walled* part of Bernini's peristyle is superfluous ; the grand front is positively bad. A consideration of the defects of this colossal pile gave rise to the following architectural lucubration , in a walk one evening , under the colonnade of Bernini.

Strike a circle; let the circumference bisect twenty columns, with the equidistance of the diastyle intercolumniation. Take any intercolumniation; call it the eastern. From the centre of the rotunda, extend the radius beyond the circumference one intercolumniation; and describe the portion of an arc of a concentric circle, radii drawn to the extremities of which, would bisect the third and fourth columns, counting from the eastern intercolumniation. Continue five rows of columns eastward, parallel to each *two*, on the right and left of the eastern intercolumniation, preserving the diastyle division. Raise nine rows of columns westward, parallel to each *two* on the right and left of the eastern intercolumniation. Raise also five rows of columns, parallel to each *one* on the right and left of the northern and southern intercolumniations. With the diastyle separation, describe the walls of the church round the columns already raised. Bisect the north-eastern wall; and from the point of bisection, with a radius from the centre of the rotunda, describe the concentric portion of an arc, which will of course bisect the eastern wall of the northern side of the church. Des-

cribe as before, the two concentric arcs opposite the seventh, thirteenth, and seventeenth intercolumniations, counting always from the eastern. We shall have then four segments of circles, which will be as many lateral chapels. The grand front, which will be Doric from the middle Pæstan temple, will present to the west, a hexastyle portico five ranges of columns deep. Bernini's colonnade, omitting the walled arcade, will diverge to the right and left of the four inmost ranges of columns. The grand front then will project one range of columns; and this would mark it sufficiently. The eastern front might present a hexastyle Pæstan Doric portico of half columns only, for windows here would be necessary. The northern and southern fronts might terminate with plain Antæ. Antæ might also break the lateral walls both within and without. The exterior columns and walls to be of Travertine; the interior columns and walls, of white Carrara marble. The order, Segestan Doric. Continue above the cornice of the rotunda, a plain circular member, twenty feet in height; cut it with twelve equidistant niches of double squares, and place in them colossal

statues of the twelve apostles; surmount it with a cornice, and crown it with the elliptic rotunda of the Pantheon; not impannelled as in the original, but painted in fresco by good masters. Preserve the *œil-de-bœuf*, covered with plate-glass in copper frames. And here is a new *Basilica Vaticana*. Taking then the diameter of the base of the Doric columns at twelve feet, each being six diameters in height, we shall have :

Length from East to West,	FEET.
including the rotunda, . . .	1088.
Length from North to South, . .	896.
Diameter of the rotunda, . . .	320.
Breadth of the eastern and	
western nave and aisles, . . .	228.
Breadth of the northern and	
southern nave and aisles, . . .	132.

The Rotunda then would be nearly half as large again as the Pantheon. A question may arise, whether or no the diastyle intercolumniation could succeed, and give sufficient strength to the rotunda. Those who know any thing of mechanical forces must be aware, that if each architrave were composed of two pieces, and a central key-stone in the form

of a wedge, the architraves, thus compactly wedged all round, would be stronger than if of one piece, and easily admissible with three diameters. The eustyle division would be too narrow for columns of such magnitude. To prevent heaviness, I have applied to the Segestan Doric the six diameters of the age of Pericles. I could have wished to give greater character to the nave by adopting the aræostyle intercolumniation; but reflexion suggested that this would weaken the edifice; and perhaps with columns of such vast proportions, it could not be adopted without an arched roof; a feature not purely Greek. Now I maintain, that had a similar plan to this been put in execution, not only would the architecture have been chaster, but the building, vast as it is, would have cost a million sterling less than the present pile; for though whole quarries of Carrara marble would have been requisite, yet that port being near the sea, the blocks might have been easily shipped, and unladen within a mile of the building. What more majestic than a forest of Segestan columns of white Carrara marble! In lieu of Fontana's obelisk, a *campanile* should have stood, circular in form,

surrounded by half Doric columns, of the same style as those of the Colisæum; these surmounted by as many Ionic, and these by as many Corinthian. And this would combine beauty and utility. Instead of the inscription to the honour of the *house* of Borghese, there should be inscribed :

DEO · OPTIMO · MAXIMO ·
SENATUS · POPULUSQUE · ROMANUS ·

Voltaire was the first individual in modern Europe, who had the magnanimity to erect a temple to the Deity. The spirit of the catholic doctrine is too contracted to allow paying due respect to the First Cause. It must be bestowed rather on *Saint Bruno, Saint Leo, Saint Prassedi, Saint Ignatius*, in preference. The religion of ancient Greece and Rome was far superior *in this respect* to the Catholic; for the ancients, by deifying the attributes of the Deity, and the different modifications of his power displayed here on earth, referred in fact all adoration to him. But whatever may be the sentiments of the upper ranks of the Catholics, the middling and lower classes, when they prostrate themselves before the shrines of *Sant'*

Antonio of Padua, or *Santa Rosa di Viterbo*, think more of those individuals who have sprung from the *Camera del Papagallo*, than of the fountain of power, goodness, and truth. Go to Constantinople.—You will see there, it is true, a people inattentive to good government, and to the development and melioration of mind; but you will not see the Mufti waving his wand, and absolving people from their sins, like the priests in St. Peter's. The principal Mufti canonizes no Saint, and orders no bones or toes to be kissed. Mahomet, however defective may be his doctrines in other respects, sends his followers to the temple of the Deity, and bids them prostrate themselves there, without asserting that he is any more than a prophet, or interpreter of God's word, a title which he can hardly be refused, if we consider the extraordinary effect which his Koran has occasioned. We can only estimate religions from the more or less good of which they are productive to man, contemplated in his individual and social relations. Friendship of a devoted kind is not uncommon in Turkey; in Rome it is certainly rare. The testimonies of numerous travellers concur in stating that a low shop-keeper in

Turkey scorns to ask even of a Christian, a greater sum than he would of a Turk. Most of the Roman shop-keepers turn foreigners to the best account they can. The Turk will sometimes rob by open force; but he scorns pilfering, as common at Rome as in London and Paris, and easily expiated by a kiss of the brazen feet of St. Peter, a wave of the magic wand from the confessional boxes, or a bow to the waxen virgins, surrounded by their flower-pots. The Turk having performed his ablutions, kneels to the Most High, and only suffers himself to be acquitted by the testimony of his own conscience. The Turk never turns his temples into charnel-houses, like the Roman. Whether noble or mechanic, he enters his mosque with sentiments of devotion and awe. The Roman on the contrary, often laughs at several of those ceremonies, which his conscience will upbraid him for neglecting. The Romans are still a finely-disposed people; and I have often had occasion to admire the estimable qualities of some individuals. To what then are the above ills to be attributed, and which press more especially on the lower classes? To the system so long adopted by Rome, of intertwisting re-

ligion with politics; and chiefly to this. But no further digressions on this delicate subject, in which it is so difficult to steer the middle course, and to which I have been insensibly led by a dislike for the superstitions which degrade and obscure doctrines, the *essentials* of which are necessary to the welfare of individuals and nations.

Of the Roman churches, *San Paolo fuori le mura* certainly presents the noblest interior. Those who can feel true architecture will prefer it even to St. Peter's. It is however in a dilapidated state. As soon as the stranger has seen *Santa Maria Maggiore*, *San Pietro in Vincoli*, *San Stefano Rotondo*, *San Giovanni Laterano*, and *Santa Maria de' Angeli*, he may spare himself further trouble about the Roman churches, their architecture, not what they contain, considered. About three miles from the gate of *San Giovanni Laterano*, there exists in a meadow to the left, a brick building, which Sickler in his *Topography of Latium*, takes to have been the temple of *Fortuna muliebris*, erected by the senate on the spot, where Coriolanus met his mother and family, headed by the Roman matrons. It is ornamented
at

at the angles with Corinthian pilasters; and since the *via Latina*, which led towards the Volscian territory, lay in that direction; since it certainly has more the appearance of a temple than tomb; since the simplicity of the materials corresponds better with the early than later periods of Rome, it is one of those topographical probabilities, which, on surveying the spot, embodied as the soul of the transaction is by the genius of Shakspeare, I loved implicitly to believe. *Corioli* stood on an eminence now called *il monte Giove*, about a mile from the Alban hills, towards the sea. We saw it from the woods that fringe the *mirror of Diana*, now *il Lago di Nemi*.

About the same distance from the *Porta del Popolo*, after passing the *Ponte Molle*, there stands a tower of the middle ages, where *Cincinnatus*, as tradition gives out, was found at his plough. The ruin has always been called *la torre di Quinto*; and it commands the *saxa rubra*, mentioned by Martial, in the description of the villa of his relation Julius; now occupied by the villa Mellini, embosomed in cypresses above:

*Quò septem dominos videre montes;
Et totam licet æstimare Romam!*

But there are few spots that remind us more agreeably of the *city of the soul*, than the *Mons sacer*, distant from the *Porta Pia* about two miles; and a gun-shot from the bridge, thrown over the Anio by Narses. It was from this tumulus, now covered with verdant turf, that Menenius Agrippa harangued his fellow-citizens, clothing his speech with that fine allegory of the belly and the members, the offspring of sheer genius, but the merit of which, lisping it as we do in our early years, we are apt to overlook.

In a walk to the *Insula Tiberina*, where Lepidus was quartered during the assassination of Cæsar, I remarked vestiges of the marble coating, which surrounded the isle in the form of a ship. Below are the majestic remains of the *Pons Senatorius*, still covered with its ancient pavement, and probably trodden by the great men of the latter period of the republic. The *Cæsar's horti* must have been somewhere near here in Trastevere, where Cicero had an interview with Cleopatra (1). Beyond is shewn

(1) Speaking of her in one of his letters, he says : *Reginam odi*.

the spot memorable from the passage of Clelia, more immortalized perhaps for that spontaneous effusion of the heart, than the most indefatigable *blue-stocking* by her literary toil, from the age of Atossa to the present hour. It is from the *Pons Senatorius* that you command one of the most interesting reaches of the Tiber, whose rapid and yellow vortices appear still to menace the small monopteral pile, called of *Vesta*. It is not easy to speculate on the probable result of the dragging of this celebrated stream, about to be undertaken. Those however who expect to find choice marble statues, will most likely be disappointed. For we can hardly imagine that the soldiers of Alaric, Ricimer, Vitiges, Totila, and the Lombards, when they expended their fury on the works of art, took care to *lower them gently with pullies* into the bed of the river. Moreover the corrosive particles carried down by the stream, must have destroyed the finer work of the productions of the chisel. The Goths knew too well the value of bronze, not to turn it to better account than choking the river with masterpieces in that metal. On the other hand, the undertakers of the enterprize must be deemed unfortunate,

if they do not find great quantities of curious armour, from the helmets of the kings, down to the arquebuses of Charles V. and the constable Bourbon. Coins too, and perhaps mutilated inscriptions, illustrative of individuals, or important historical particulars, may remunerate them. A few months will prove the result of this interesting experiment. It was reserved for Dionysius Periegetes to give us the best description of this most celebrated of all celebrated streams, and worthy to be echoed from its concave shores.

ΘΥΜΒΡΙΣ ΕΛΙΣΣΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΘΑΡΟΝ ΡΟΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΛΑΒΑΛΛΕΙ
 ΘΥΜΒΡΙΣ ΕΥΡΕΙΤΗΣ ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΤΑΤΟΣ ΑΛΛΩΝ
 ΘΥΜΒΡΙΣ ΟΣ ΙΜΕΡΤΗΝ ΑΠΟΤΕΜΝΕΤΑΙ ΑΝΔΙΧΑ ΡΩΜΗΝ
 ΡΩΜΗΝ ΤΙΜΗΣΣΑΝ ΕΜΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΝ ΟΙΚΟΝ ΑΝΑΚΤΩΝ
 ΜΗΤΕΡΑ ΠΑΣΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΑΦΝΕΙΟΝ ΕΔΕΘΑΟΝ.

These and similar recollections were occasionally broken by an attention to the progress of modern art, which upon the whole, surpassed my expectations. Great efforts are made by the actual painters of Rome, to submit what genius they may possess to classical rules; in which they succeed better than any of the artists that have appeared since the time of Raphael. Among the most distinguished, is one

Camuccini ; whose pictures of the death of Cæsar, and Cornelia producing the Gracchi, are in a chaste classical style, and in other respects, much above mediocrity.

The German school now established at Rome, imitate the Perugino style of painting, and very successfully; they even use leaf gold, to set off earrings, and minor ornaments. They are seen in the streets habited *à la Raphael*; but they find it easier to adopt the long hair, and close tunic of that first of artists, than the fine mind that pervades his transcendant productions.

There exists no intaglio-sculptor at Rome that can be put in competition with Pickler; but cameos are elegantly cut, especially by Cirometti.

The few specimens of architecture, or rather of repair, which have been raised in the actual pontificate, are very indifferent.

With regard to sculpture, it is not easy to speak in too high terms, not only of its improvement, but of the rapid strides which it makes to absolute perfection. The modern Alcámenes has however found a puissant rival in the Dane Thorvaldsen, who in reliefs, is

confessedly the first artist living : witness his *Giorno*, *Notte*, and *Triumphs of Alexander*. Neither would it be easy to find among Canova's productions, statues superior to his *Dancing Girl*, his *Mercury*, and *Adonis*. But *Venus receiving the apple*, and *Cupid contemplating his dart*, both from the chisel of this distinguished Dane, are *opera omnibus fortasse hodiernæ artis anteponenda*. He will, I suspect, be found to possess more nerve and invention than Canova, and to be but little his inferior in grace. It must however be understood, that though the Grecian spirit has been happily caught by these great artists, we cannot yet discover in their works that high creative *ideal*, which we recognize in the Apollo, the Meleager, and the Laocoon.

Though the works of the ancients in sculpture and architecture irresistibly call forth our admiration, and are deservedly held as models for imitation, perhaps we attach a too great importance to their productions in painting. We know not indeed to what degree of excellence the masterpieces recorded by Plinius, and the epigrammatists, may have been carried; but with regard to their frescos, it will

not be hazardous to assert, that any two years' noviciate in the schools of Raphael and Guido, might be found to surpass them. The frescos discovered in the baths of Titus, are a pretty good proof of this. It is vain to urge that they may have been the productions of very inferior artists. The baths were an imperial work; and they were certainly decorated with the masterpieces in sculpture; why then should they have been the receptacles of the refuse of the painters' easels? Now the highest claim of merit that these productions can aspire to, (not excepting the best, which are the Aldobrandini marriage, and two or three of the Herculanean frescos,) will be found to consist in the representation of a certain *dead elegance*; and we may fairly presume that in point of expression, spirit, and correctness of outline, many of the fresco-designs in the modern inns of Italy, will be found to surpass them.

Nothing is so striking to the *Tramontane* stranger at least, on surveying the Roman galleries, as the good preservation of the frescos by the great modern artists. The Guercino and Guido Auroras are eminently fresh; so is the Farnesine by Raphael; and the Farnese by

Annibal Caracci; the labours of Raphael in the Vatican have suffered the most injury from time.

In a cursory survey of the *Palazzo Doria*, abounding with noble pictures, I noticed a portrait expressive of great acuteness of intellect, which proved to be one of Niccolò Machiavelli; a genius of so high an order, that it has been unable till lately, to pierce those clouds of ignorance and prejudice, which prevented it from being duly appreciated. It is not more than forty years, that his merit began to be acknowledged at Florence; and Europe at length finds out, that he who filled nineteen embassies, who established a school of political philosophy in the Italian seat of the Muses, who applied a fine analysis to the Roman history, and a subtler than Aristotle, to the theory of government, who withal died poor and neglected, was an honour to our species. A consideration of the calumnies which have beset his name, occasioned the following stanzas; though I know not if the Sapphic metre can be adopted with effect, in the harmonious dialect of Italy.

O M A G G I O

FATTO AL RITRATTO DI NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI,

Dipinto da ANDREA DEL SARTO.

O di govern' egregio maestro !
Da chi li stati fiorire sanno,
A cui i regi sono sottoposti,
Pur' i tiranni.

I baroni, la strepitosa plebe,
Sentono per te loro stazioni,
Nel tuo stile, più grandiosa
Roma risplende.

I ministri scelgono da tuoi
Scritti ricercati, precetti sani
Per saper stender dominazione.—
L'ambasciadore

Corre fra sospetti paesi, dunque
Al suo va, l'ansietà nel petto,
Plausi rubando debiti all'acuto
Machiavelli.

Il Secondato piglia sovente
Dal tuo cervello cos' alt' assai ;
Tràono da te i capitani certe
Regole d'arte.

L'ira rugge ne la profonda volta,
 E'l cuor cessa lacerare, dal gran
 Niccolò sbandita fremente tralle
 Sedi dolenti.

Con piacer la Storia alta, pura,
 Del Fiorentin l'onorando fronte
 Cinge con allori virenti sempre,
 Cinge Talia.

Mostra con orgoglio dove giaccion
 L'ossa del grand' istrutor di stati,
 Mostra, — nè d'altrui più si vanta
 Alma Firenze.

L'ammirator dei repubblicani
 Stati, di scaltriti tiranni stessi,
 Sempre dirà con venerazione,
 « Niccolò Grande. »

But the heat began to be almost intolerable at Rome; neither was it mitigated by one of the loudest thunder storms I ever remember to have witnessed. The fresher air of the snow-clad Apennines, and a wish to visit the birth-place of Cicero, invited me not reluctantly from the capital.

. . . *Mihi jam non regia Roma,
 Sed vacuum Tibur placet.*

We were accompanied by a venerable Portuguese Jesuit, about to join his fraternity in Tivoli; *comes Heliodorus, come ingenium*; — who had been in England as far back as the year 1769; and whose knowledge of the finer passages in Milton proved that he had not been there in vain. The sun was shooting a rich crimson tint on the ruins of Dioclesian's baths; a rotunda attached to which, Michael Angelo turned into a church; but the magnificent granite shafts, ill imitated by modern in brick and plaister, vindicate the glory of the first architect. About a mile from the gate of *San Lorenzo*, we reached a church dedicated to the same saint. It is only remarkable as having been lately proved by a distinguished antiquary resident at Rome, to have been built with the ruins of the portico of Octavia; which enclosed temples to Jupiter and Juno. Plinius tells us that *Batrachus* and *Saurus*, two Spartan architects, were employed by Augustus in the erection of these temples; and that in the volutes of the columns, they caused to be engraved a *frog* and *lizard*. Now in the eighth column that supports the roof of *San Lorenzo*, a *frog* and *lizard*, illustrative of the names of

the architects, appear. It is thus that the modern Romans have a perpetual whet-stone applied to their wits, by the gigantic labours of their ancestors in art. We rolled slowly along the old *via Tiburtina*, supposed to have been first paved in the consulship of M. Valerius Maximus, in the year of the city CCCXLVII. Excavations that were made in the pontificate of Alexander VII. prove that it was thrice raised; three pavements in irregular polygonal masses having been then discovered, one above the other. Vestiges of the old *trottoirs* are occasionally visible. About two miles from the church of *San Lorenzo*, just before reaching the Anio, we traversed the spot where Hannibal pitched his camp, after his battle with the proconsul Fulvius Flaccus. We may collect from history, that the Carthaginian general just saw Rome, and no more; as if his destinies permitted nothing further. Soon after crossing the bridge thrown over the Anio, and built by Mammea, the mother of Alexander Severus, we noticed remains of very ancient quarries on the opposite side of the stream. To our left was the spot, where the consul Servilius defeated the Sabines; and five miles further, is the scene of

another memorable victory gained by Ancus Martius over the early inhabitants of Latium. Every rood of the Campagna has been fought and refought over. We presently saw to the left the *Lago de' Tartari*, in colour like a bowl of cream, and of a sulphureous, nitrous, and petrifying quality. It is perhaps one of the most active petrifying waters known; for it gradually transforms into stone the plants and reeds that grow for some paces round. A constant fermentation penetrates the pores of the weeds with stony particles; the lake is shallow, and its basin is a light and porous tuf. A few paces beyond, we crossed the hoary Albula, which flows into the Anio by a channel cut by one of the princes of the house of Este. It rises from the *Lago Sulfureo*, celebrated for the oracular groves of Faunus, mentioned in the well-known lines of Virgil. When Kircher saw this lake, he found it about a mile in circuit; but it is now much reduced in size. It undergoes a perpetual diminution, from the unctuous and bituminous matter, which floats on its surface. Dust and seeds transported by the wind adhere to it, and in process of time little islands are formed, which blown to the shores, of course

become more compact. None of these bituminous islets exceed ten feet in length. A century or two may possibly thus annihilate the lake, or reduce it to a bituminous marsh. Kircher affirms that it is *imperscrutabilis profunditatis*; the depth however has been ascertained to be from sixty to one hundred and seventy feet. The force of Virgil's line *sævum exhalat opaca mephitim*, is here sensibly felt by every traveller; for the atmosphere for more than a mile round, is impregnated with a fetid sulphureous effluvia. We almost immediately reached the *Ponte Lucano*, either so called from the *Lucus Tiburti*, or from Marcus Plautius Lucanus, one of the Plautian family, whose sepulchre, half covered with ivy, proclaims the *grandiosità* of the Romans in their monumental buildings. It is built of Tiburtine stone, and of the same form as that of Cecilia Metella, but very inferior in elegance of design. The illustrious family of the Plautii gave eighteen consuls to Rome. Aulus Plautius was the conqueror of Caractacus; and Claudius having decreed him an ovation, went out to meet him on his return from Britain. Another of this family having been named by the senate to take com-

mand of a naval force destined for Asia, lost his wife at Tarentum. As he ascended the funeral pile to take a last farewell, he was so affected, that he killed himself. They were both buried in a common tomb, called by the Tarentines, *Sepulchrum Amantium* (1).

The freshness of the Tiburtine groves, the murmur of the *cascatelle*, the moon shining in her fullest splendour, formed a most grateful contrast to the suffocating heat of the Campagna, that *pestilens et aridum solum*, as it is called by Titus Livius; and we just recognized by the silver light, the immense ruins of the *Villa Adriana*, surrounded by its pine and cypress groves, and various as the character of its founder : *idem severus, lætus, comis, gravis, lascivus, cunctator, tenax, liberalis, simulator, sævus, clemens, et semper in omnibus varius* (2).

We drove to the *Regina*, an inn which I have little doubt provided us with better fare, than Horace enjoyed with his Glycera, Propertius with his Cynthia, or Catullus with his

(1) De Sanct. famil. Plautia.

(2) Æl. Spartian. in Vit. Adrian.

Lesbia, when they sojourned at Tibur. Nothing is wanting to make the environs of this *Roman Richmond* of perfect beauty, but a greater variety of trees to break the grey monotony of the olive.

Tibur, according to the most numerous authorities, was built before Rome, by a troop of Greeks from the Peloponnesus, under the conduct of Tiburtus, Catilus, and Coras, three Argive brothers. It long subsisted an independent republic; and did not submit to the capital, before A. U. C. ccccxv. It appears that the Tiburtine commonwealth had a high idea of its importance; for on soliciting assistance from Rome, against an invasion threatened by the neighbouring tribes, the ambassadors dwelling at large on the favours that the Romans owed on a similar occasion to Tibur, the only reply that they obtained from the senate was: *Superbi estis!* (1) We find nothing interesting respecting its fate after its annexation to the capital. In the lower ages, the inhabitants were put to the sword by the soldiers of Totila (2);

(1) Servius ad *Æn.* VII.

(2) Procopius.

subsequently

subsequently an irruption of the Germans desolated the town. Frederic Barbarossa rebuilt the walls, and Pius II. strengthened them with a fortress, which he built with the ruins of an amphitheatre. It was always a favourite retreat of the opulent Romans, both in ancient and modern times.

The monopteral temple of Vesta was our first object; of which the late Lord Bristol was so enamoured, that he offered a considerable sum to transport it to his park in England; but the government wisely interposed, and prohibited its removal. The lover of art betrays nothing but absurdity, in wishing to remove whole buildings from their accustomed site. What but a ridiculous ostentation could suggest the removal, for instance, of either of the Pæstan temples, which might be imitated at less cost at home, and at the same time call forth the talents of native workmen? We even prefer to see the temple of Erechtheus, surrounded as it is by monuments of Turkish barbarism, than placed in the sprucest lawn, laid out by the Reptons and the Browns. The capitals of the temple of Vesta, like every composite specimen, are of an indifferent style;

and the building is, I suspect, of a later date than the Augustan age. Contiguous is the Ionic temple of the Sybil, as it is called. An inscription found in it, rather tends to prove that it was dedicated to Drusilla, the sister of Caligula.

DIVÆ · DRUSILLÆ ·

SACRUM ·

C · RUBELLIUS · C · F · BLANDUS ·

LEG · DIVI · AUG · TR · PL · PR · COS ·

PROCOS · PONTIF ·

The building presents a rare specimen of the prostyle, tetrastyle, and pseudoperipteral dispositions. But the noblest monument of Tibur was the temple of Hercules, situated on a commanding height, and now occupied by the cathedral. Remains of the *cella* are still visible, and it was about eighty-four *palmi* in length. Hercules was the tutelar deity of the Tiburtines; and is frequently mentioned by the classic authors: by Propertius:

Curve te in Herculeum deportant esseda Tibur!

by Silius Italicus:

Quosque sub Herculeis taciturno flumine muris,

Pomifera arva creant, Anienicolæque Catilli,

and by Martial:

*Itur ad Herculei gelidas qua Tiburis arces ,
Canaque sulphureis Albula fumat aquis.*

After surveying the upper falls of the Anio, we descended to the *Grotta di Nettuno*, to facilitate the approach to which, the French General Miollis, with a commendable public spirit, has lately raised a convenient flight of steps. All unprejudiced travellers must indeed be sensible of the advantages which Italy has derived from the impulse given by the French invasion. Indeed it may be safely averred that no nation ever reaped so great a compensation for the incursion of foreign troops. What shall I say of the *Mont Cenis*, and of its noble road, carried over steeps usually hidden in the clouds? What of the more stupendous work at the *Simplon*, where the traveller and merchant, after ascending twenty-five miles from *Domo d'Ossola*, and traversing four galleries cut through the solid rock, finds an excellent inn, five thousand feet above the sea? What of the *Valais*, where before there were only seen a few solitary mules, monumental crucifixes, and gaping *Crétins*, now animated by rich and frequented inns, necessarily occupying a numerous peasantry? What of the bridges thrown

across noisy *Rhodanus* , *pontem indignatus* , before he hides himself in ill-humour? Thrice have I traversed these Alpine passes , and thrice was I amazed. The pen of the historian will not fail to do justice to these stupendous works , not less useful than magnificent. Care also will be taken not to forget the *barrow-wheelers* , *the rock-blasters* , *the superintending directors* , *who were actually upon the spot* ; and with whom the principal merit lies. But to return to the cascades of the Anio. The prismatic colours by a complicated process of reflection and refraction , described a nearly horizontal circle , which reflected again under the white foam , presented a spectacle as novel , as it was beautiful. But it is from the *Grotta della Sirena* , that the Anio appears in all its magnificence. Here you command the three upper cascades , while the river at your feet is precipitated with a thundering noise , which seems to shake the dark vault that receives it. Luxuriant vines were bending around with the *pizzoutello* grape , of a curved and very oblong shape , but insipid flavour. Crossing the Anio , we continued our walk *circa mite solum Tiburis* ,

et mœnia Catili ; and having made the circuit of the chasm formed by the river, soon reached the deserted convent of *Sant' Antonio*, built on the foundations of Horace's Tiburtine villa. There is no reason for attacking long-established tradition, when it does not revolt probability. Suetonius, in his *sketch* of the life of Horace, (and it can be called nothing more,) tells us : *domus ejus ostenditur circà Tiburtinum luculum*. Here we found an apartment inlaid with tessellated pavement, and two arched chambers, one of which probably contained a bath; for it terminates in a semicircular recess at the end. The walls were covered with a nitrous efflorescence. It is probable that the simplicity of the poet's retreat formed a striking contrast to the splendour of the palace of his friend Quintilius Varus hard by, and to that of his patron Mæcenas opposite, the immense substructions of which prove that that dexterous minister loved even in the country, *molem propinquam nubibus arduis*.

Crossing the lower Anio, by the old Roman bridge, we reached the picturesque remains of the villa of this celebrated minister, now

turned into an iron manufactory. It consisted of a vast range of porticos surrounding a theatre and two courts, supported by Roman Doric pillars below, and Ionic above. Several of the Doric half columns towards one of the principal courts, still remain. Streams cut from the Anio, flow through the ruins in all directions, and are tumbled into the valley through the broken and moss-grown arches.

We wandered with considerable pleasure over the terraces still covered with the *intonaco* trodden by the great men of the Augustan age; who no doubt were magnificently entertained with intellectual and sensual pleasures, by the *mel gentium*, the *ebur ex Etruria*, the *Cilniorum smaragdus*, as Augustus called his favourite minister, satirically alluding to his loose and bombastic idiom. Mæcenas will always rank high among that supple class of ministers, who love to arrange things *snugly* and *comfortably* for themselves, and their master. He had none of the grandeur of Agrippa. But his noble patronage of art and talent, and the speech which he delivered in favour of the establishment of the empire, in opposition to the sentiments of Agrippa for the restoration of the republic, and

which is transmitted to us by Dio Cassius, prove him a man of no ordinary stamp.

Of the more than thirty Tiburtine villas, which Sickler in his topography of Latium enumerates, one of the most interesting in point of recollections, is that which belonged to Caius Cassius. The *fundus Cassianus* is mentioned in an ancient chronicle of Tivoli, dated as far back as A. D. 945; and considerable foundations of it are still seen on the *via di Carciano (quasi Cassiano)*, to the south of the modern town. The ruins consist of eighteen spacious chambers, decorated on the outside with Doric columns. But nothing shews the former magnificence of this villa more than the discovery among its ruins, of the eight Muses, and Apollo Citharædus of the Vatican, besides a Faun, a Pallas, and three Hermes of the sages of Greece, together with several granite shafts, and mosaics. It is more than probable that these, or the major part, were the property of Caius Cassius; for the Romans under the empire, attached a sort of veneration to what belonged to the illustrious men of the republic; the purchasers of their property often leaving it untouched; and this we may collect

from Plinius, and the anecdotal authors. It would appear then that Cassius, though a staunch republican, was not insensible to the delights of a magnificent country retreat. Here it is supposed, the conspiracy against Cæsar was projected and arranged. Near the villa of Caius Cassius, they pretend to shew that which belonged to Marcus Brutus. It is not however so well authenticated as the first. We may nevertheless conclude that he had a villa at Tibur; for Cicero in his *pro Cluentio*, mentions the Tiburtine villa of M. Brutus, who was a distinguished jurisconsult, and by whom it was probably bequeathed to his relation, the friend, and exterminator of Cæsar. Many interesting discoveries have been made among the ruins, which prove that it was magnificently adorned.

We should not however attempt by a too close investigation, to destroy the illusion (if illusion it be) of treading the spot where Brutus entertained his friends :

*Whose life was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,
And say to all the world : This was a man.*

We loitered with pleasure among the trees and fountains of the villa d'Este, above. Michael

Angelo designed one, and called it the *Queen of the Fountains*; it is at any event superior to the rest, which consist of *little farthing Cupids*, squirting water in rows.

*O altas pinus, admirandasque cupressus
Estensis villæ, latè quæ prospicit agros
Incultos Latii, prostrataque mœnia Romæ !*

The cypresses deserve indeed a better tribute. They are worthy of the lyre of Gray, or any other poet, *qui fortasse cupressum scit simulare*.

No spot in the environs of the capital, not even the heights of Frascati, overlook a more extensive range of the Campagna, than the garden of the villa d'Este. To the right below, near the sulphureous sources of the Albula, the deposit of which forms the Tiburtine stone; we gazed with pleasure on a verdant hillock, where formerly stood the retreat of Zenobia, the accomplished and interesting queen of Palmyra. She has been thus described by Pollio, a cotemporary writer : *forma corporis egregia, oculis suprâ modum vigentibus, et nigris; tanto candore in dentibus, ut margaritas eam plerique habere putarent; vox præterea clara, et virilis*. She appears to have been one of those rare creatures occasionally lent us to admire;

while the pleasure which we feel in the contemplation of their excellencies, is dashed by the despair of being able to imitate them.

Augustus, we find from Suetonius, was partial to Tibur, where he tempered pleasure with the duties of the chief magistracy : *præcipuè frequentavit proxima urbi oppida, Lanuvium, Proeneste, Tibur, ubi etiam in porticibus Herculis jus persæpe dixit.* Augustus, though not exempt from petty vanities, and some acts of cruelty, during the ferment of the civil wars; though we cannot contemplate him with that satisfaction which we should, had he filled his office on pure elective principles, will always pass a rare example among sovereigns, of a trying and unparalleled course of prosperity gradually meliorating the complexion of the heart.

Leaving the *domus Albunæ resonantis*, and its numerous recollections, we followed the *via Valeria* to Vico-varo, distant from Tivoli nine miles. The road was so called from Marcus Valerius Maximus, who, we learn from Livius, paved it in the year of the city ccccxlvii. Its former magnificence is confirmed by the substructions which supported it near the Anio, and fragments of bridges still visible,

which traversed streamlets, and small ravines. It was only fifteen feet in width, and like the *via Tiburtina*, paved with polygonal flags. We had *Mount Catillus* to our left, now surmounted with a crucifix. We passed to our right, the ruins of the pretended villa of Syphax, king of Numidia; but the inscription found, as is said, on its site, with his name inscribed, in the fifteenth century, is of apocryphal authority. We may however infer from Livius, that that African sovereign, after having been confined a prisoner at Alba, on the Fucine lake, was removed to Tibur; where death rescued him from the ignominy of adorning the triumph of Scipio.

After passing vestiges of ancient sepulchres, and the remains of a *villa incognita*, we reached Vico-varo, which would have escaped the notice of posterity, had it not been mentioned by Horace, as the seat of a rustic Sabine senate. We remarked a stratum of lava to the left, the origin of which perplexes mineralogists; for no indications of a crater are visible in the environs; and the volcanic current lies, as if dropped from the clouds. To account for this, some have imagined that the Solfatara below Tivoli

is a depressed volcano ; which certain appearances near the *cascatelle*, and a steep called *il monte spaccato*, or the *split mountain*, tend to confirm.

The picturesque ruins of an aqueduct which crossed the Anio, and conveyed the *Aqua Claudia* to Rome, were the only objects which compensated for the filth and barbarism of Vico-varo. The peasants, who are ill clad, speak a very uncouth dialect; thus for *Vico-varo*, they say *wico-war*. They fasten wooden soles to their feet, tied with packthread, like the straps of the old Roman sandal. The next morning early, we reached the confluence of the Licenza (*Digentia*) with the Teverone, (*Anio*), and after following the right bank of the former stream for about three miles, we arrived at Rocca Giovane, built on a steep surrounded by olives and chesnuts, and close to the site of the *Fanum Vacunæ*, mentioned by Horace. *Vacuna* has been thought, by some of his commentators, the goddess of leisure; Lilius Giraldus says it is synonymous with Minerva; Varro, with *Victoria*. The opinion of the last seems confirmed by the following inscription found near the temple.

IMP . CAESAR . VESPASIANUS .
 PONT . MAX . TRIB . POT .
 CENSOR . AEDEM . VICTORIAE .
 VETUSTATE . DILAPSAM .
 SUA . IMPENSA .
 RESTITUIT .

A prostrate brick wall covered with cement, and the portion of a small conduit which supplied the temple with water, were all that we could find of the *fanum putre Vacunæ*.

Descending by a very rough path into the vale below, we reached a group of Spanish chesnuts, healthy and vigorous, like the genius of the amiable poet, on the site of whose Sabine farm they grow. Covered with brambles, there are a few layers of brick-work well preserved; there are also two *frusta* of columns with plinths, hewn out of one stone; and these are the reputed remains of the Horatian villa. There appears however to be some doubt as to the actual site. Padre Piazzì places it in a neighbouring valley; Cluverius thinks that it was nearer Umbria; but it is, I apprehend, more than probable that it stood in this valley of the *Licenza*, in which we easily recognize *Digentia*; in the village of *Bardela*, *Mandela*,

built on an exposed point , *rugosus frigore pagus* ; add too the neighbourhood of the *fanum Vacunæ* , and of *Varia* ; while the dry and stony bed of the *Digentia* shews that it is liable to sudden swells alluded to by the poet :

Multâ mole docendus aprico parcere prato.

The *fons Bandusiæ* has been lately shewn by Mr. Hobhouse , to be in the neighbourhood of Venosa , the birth-place of the bard ; but the sources of the *Digentia* are cold and pure enough to correspond with the descriptive lines :

*Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus , ut nec
Frigidior Thraciam , nec purior ambat Hebrus.*

The lofty and snow-capt *Monte Gennaro* , which makes such a figure in the landscape seen from Rome , surrounds the site of the villa to the west and south , and is most likely the *Lucretilis* of the poet. It protected his flocks then equally from the summer heats , *pluviisque ventis* accompanying the scirocco.

Be it as it may , the scanty fragments which we found , amply compensated a sultry ride up an arid Sabine valley ; for of all the Latin poets , Horace is certainly the most original ; and the best proof of this is the impossibility

ot imitating him with success. The harmonious majesty of Virgil, the sonorous pomp of Lucan, the philosophical dignity of Lucretius, the spleen and energy of Juvenal, the elegiac tenderness of Tibullus and Propertius, and the amorous fire of Ovid, have been sometimes caught by good scholars. But the style of the argute Venusian, especially in his satires and epistles, like the *grata protervitas* of his Glyceria, has hitherto bid defiance to the most refined student. His *curiosa felicitas* escapes both Pope and Boileau; though it must be confessed that we are indebted to the last for a more perfect Art of Poetry.

Quitting the Horatian villa, we regained the *via Valeria*, and following the course of the Anio to our right, proceeded by the *via Sublacensis* to Subiaco, a place known in ancient geography, under the title of the *Simbrivine ponds*; and distant from Vico-varo about twenty miles. We presently crossed the Rio freddo, which was transported to Rome on a course of arches sixty-one miles in length, under the title of *Aqua Marcia*. It corresponds with the description of it given by Frontinus: *penè statim stagnino colore præviri*di, being of an eme-

rald green; and water, when very pure, seems of that colour. It is thus that the Spaniards have their *Rio verde* in a celebrated romance. About a mile further to the left, are also the sources of the *Aqua Claudia*, which according to Plinius, travelled to the capital on a range of arches not less than forty-six miles in length. We left Aosta to our right, the ancient *Augusta*, built on a precipitous and insulated rock, in the midst of the valley. Five miles beyond is Subiaco, which Nero made conspicuous with his villa. *Sublaqueum*, under the lakes, or as we might translate it, under the halter, seems an appropriate residence for such a tyrant. Tacitus tells us that at a banquet given here by that abortion, the tables were struck and upset by a thunder-bolt; we should however remember that the Roman historians, and especially Tacitus, are fond of giving effect to great occurrences by the intervention of the thunder of Jove: *Discumbentis Neronis apud Simbrivina stagna, cui Sublaqueum nomen est, ictæ dapes mensaque disjecta erat* (1) A monk of the Altieri family has lately unearthed se-

(1) Annal. xiv. c. 22.

veral apartments of the Neronian villa. The modern town is better built than Tivoli, and a lofty and spacious feudal castle commands it of the lower ages. Hither St. Benedict retired, the founder of one of the most hospitable and sensible of the monastic orders; and a cave is shewn near the town, where the saint offered up his orisons. Subiaco is interesting as having been the first place in Italy, where printing-presses were established; and according to Tiraboschi, the works of Lactantius, and the *De Oratore* of Cicero, were the first productions of the first Italian press, established in a monastery at Subiaco. Rock crystal is found in the neighbouring cliffs.

We had now entered the narrow defiles of the Apennines, and the *nidus* of the Italian Aborigines, who like the *autochthones* of Greece, despised the neighbouring tribes, who owed their origin to colonies. Whence they came is matter of dispute. Cato tells us in a fragment, *primò Italiam tenuisse quosdam qui Aborigines appellabantur*; and Justin says that they were the first cultivators of Italy. They were believed by some to have come from Achaia. Festus speaking of them says : *fuit*

gens antiquissima Italiæ. Their savage habits and life are alluded to by Virgil in the following line :

Gensque virûm truncis et duro robore nata ;

and by Sallust : *genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum.* Janus and Saturnus were two of their chiefs, who imparted to them the rudiments of civilization ; and like the heroes of Greece, were subsequently deified :

— *genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, legesque dedit,*

says Virgil speaking of Saturnus. Dionysius of Halicarnassus is so confused in his account of these Aborigines, or as some have called them *Aberrigines*, that he leaves us as much in the dark as before. The two insurmountable difficulties among the Italian antiquaries, are the origin of this race, and that of the Tuscans. It is amusing to trace the contradictory statements of the learned respecting the last. Their descent perplexed the ancients, as well as moderns. Herodotus tells us that they came from Lydia ; Varro, and Aristides quoted by Strabo, will have it that they were Pelasgians ; Bochart,

that they came from Canaan , or Phœnicia ; Buonaroti , from Egypt ; while Pelloutier , Freret , and others maintain that they were of Celtic origin. It is probable that the Aborigines and the Tuscans were indigenous in the strict sense of the word ; placed in Italy by the immediate act of the Deity , like Adam in Mesopotamia.

But circumstances had occurred , which threw a chill over the enjoyment , which we should have otherwise felt , in witnessing the actual condition of this uncouth tribe. There was one *Dicesaris* , an *aboriginal* compound of bigotry , activity , and cruelty ; the Cæsar Borgia of the Apennines. At the head of a troop of banditti as fearless as himself , he had spread terror to the gates of Rome , and had insulted , perhaps intimidated the authorities , by demanding a considerable ransom for an individual of note , whose person he had secured. The papal troops had been despatched in quest of him , and a few days before we left Rome , they had found his wife and family at the village of *Saint Prassedi* , whom by a summary legal process , they had murdered in cold blood. *Dicesaris* in consequence , was wandering in

the heart of the Apennines, rabid as a wounded lion, and breathing slaughter and revenge. Informed however at Subiaco, by the magistrate, and papal military officer, that he had not been heard of, or seen in that vicinity, we crossed the Anio, now reduced to a streamlet, and we saw the mountain beyond, *unde Aniena fluente*. Ascending for more than a league, we reached an extensive plain, covered with fine turf, bounded by a noble amphitheatre of Apennines, and fringed with woods to their very base. At the eastern extremity, rose the *Monte Porcaro*, the ancient *Mons Præclarus*, *præclara magnitudine*! Numerous herds were grazing; and here we noticed a species of thistle with stalks and leaves of a pale blue colour. We entered by a meridian sun, this silent forest of oak and beech, the leaves of which as they rustled, seemed to whisper *Dicesaris*. On approaching the village of Anticoli, which I do not find occupying the site of any ancient town, we saw a multitude of peasants and herdsmen assembled on a sort of rude terrace, to witness a horse-race. Their appearance was uncouth and picturesque in the extreme. They were clad chiefly in sheep-skins, and wore red

caps. The better class were armed. They reminded me of the Nogai Tartars in the south of Russia. These modern *Aborigines*, with black dishevelled hair, and olive complexions, who rent the air with barbarous yells as we passed, corresponded with the description of their ancestors, transmitted to us by Virgil :

*Horrida præcipuè cui gens, assuetaque multo
Venatu nemorum duris Æquicola glebis ;
Armati terram exercent , semperque recentes
Convectare juvat prædas , et vivere raptò.*

Not desirous of entering our palfries at the Anticoli races, we journeyed to Alatri, (*Alatrium*), a town that figures in the comedy of the Captives of Plautus. We arrived there at dusk, after having passed through a country wooded by nature, like the noblest parks of England. Alatri is one of the five Saturnian cities; there are four others which claim their origin from that unknown hero styled Saturnus. They all begin with the first letter of the alphabet, and are as follows : *Alatri*, *Anagni*, *Atina*, *Arce*, and *Arpino*. There is something inexpressibly striking to the mind, on entering a city like Alatri, the origin of which is lost in the impenetrable mist of ages. There are no

cities in England, of which we have any authentic records, earlier than Julius Cæsar; there are not many in France; we can trace the origin of them all, at least as soon as they began to assume any commercial importance. The same will apply to the Spanish cities, with the exception perhaps of Tartessus, the origin of which is involved in obscurity. There is no city in Sicily, of which we have not authentic data; tradition respecting the Greek colonies is also pretty satisfactory; but enter any one of the five Saturnian, or the twelve Etrurian cities; ask about what period were laid the colossal substructions, remains of which are in all more or less visible. The person whom you interrogate, be he a Cluverius, is mute. You might as well hope to obtain satisfactory information respecting the oldest ruins in India, Persia, or Egypt; which have always perplexed, and will perplex antiquaries. All that we can conclude is, that Alatri is a city of the Italian Aborigines, founded at some remote and unknown period, probably by Saturnus, who after imparting some few ideas of civilization among his followers, was venerated by them, and subsequently, with Janus, (whose

temples were common in the Apennines,) crept into Rome as the tutelar deities of the republic. It would be well if a new Janus or Saturnus could reappear in the Apennines, to propagate fresh ideas of social order ; for here are an unreasonable number of the priesthood, and the same *exitibilis superstitio* as in the capital. If any one were to ask whether I found any signs of order, civilization, or a cheerful and active peasantry, (and no country offers more resources for the formation of the latter,) I could not reply better than in the words of the comedian in the Captives of Plautus : *ou tan Soran, ou tan Segnian, ou ton Frousinona, ou to Alatrion, per barbaricas urbes jurans*. The lands in this part of the Apennines, are very unequally divided among great and small proprietors. The church dignitaries, and monastic establishments hold at least two-thirds of them in mort-main. The next considerable proprietors are the Roman nobles; and the next, the provincial landholders ; the agricultural classes possess little or nothing. A saddle-horse costs from thirty to forty *scudi* ; a sheep, two ; a ploughing-ox, thirty ; a draught-ox, forty-five to fifty *scudi* ; a dozen of eggs, ten *baiocchi* ;

mutton and beef per pound, five; bread per pound, two and a half; a flask of wine, five; and one day's work in a vineyard, twenty *baiocchi*. Women are employed in the fields, as well as boys; but they only receive one half of the men's wages. If their hirers allow them food, one half of the salary is deducted (1).

On leaving Alatri, by an ancient gateway, we noticed considerable remains of walls, called Cyclopiæ. One of the masses presents an uncouth figure in relief, probably of Saturnus. The style of the walls resembling those of Tyrrhenus and Mycenæ, seen by Mr. Dodwell and Sir William Gell, proclaims an almost antediluvian antiquity.

We reached Veroli the next morning, distant from Alatri seven miles. It is better built than any place that we had seen since leaving Subiaco; and the churches are handsome and substantial. It gave however more the idea of a people preparing against invasion, than engaged in usual peaceable pursuits. Many of the inhabitants were assembled in the market-place,

(1) Communicated to the author by a trust-worthy individual of Rome.

armed with fusils swung across their shoulders. *Qui siemo barbari* observed a priest, as we were endeavouring to procure some distant resemblance to a breakfast, at a coffee-house in the *Piazza*. The appearance of his countrymen confirmed the truth of his observation. Veroli is built on the ruins of the ancient *Verulæ*, only mentioned, I believe, by Florus. The view that it commands of the Apennines to the east, and of Frusinone in the circumjacent plain, equals in grandeur any of the finest scenery that Italy can boast.

We had not left Veroli five minutes, before the Saturnian Arpino appeared on an eminence to the east, though full twenty miles distant, and exactly as Tullius describes it in one of his letters to Atticus, wherein quoting Homer, he says :

ΤΡΗΧΕΙ' ΑΛΛ' ΑΓΑΘΗ ΚΟΥΡΟΤΡΟΦΟΣ,

I added with all my heart,

ΟΥΤΙ ΕΓΩΤΕ

ΗΣ ΤΑΙΗΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΑΙ ΓΑΥΚΕΡΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΛΛΟ ΙΔΕΣΘΑΙ.

It must be observed, that the cities in the Apennines, like most of those that derive their origin from the infancy of societies, are built on bold eminences. We descended for more

than two leagues, and reached the vast monastery of *San Giovanni*, one of the wealthiest in the pontifical states, and situated as all similar establishments should be, in complete retirement. A few of these institutions might be adopted with advantage, in every civilized state, provided their revenues be very moderate. When the British Henry VIII. destroyed them all *at one fell swoop*, he did not apparently take into account that some of his species are destined by nature for a life of meditation and retreat from the ferment of the world; which can no where be so effectually obtained as in a well-regulated monastery. On the other hand, these states that adopt them would do well to avoid imitating several of the Italian, and trebly catholic Spain, which pamper the occupants of religious houses with preposterous revenues, drained from the panting lungs and swollen muscles of whole districts.

The country here began to assume a more cultivated and less pastoral appearance; and after traversing a tract diversified with vines, poplars, and maize, we arrived at a white cottage, surrounded with noble cypresses, which proved to be the Neapolitan custom-

house, and the boundary of the two states. We were not long detained ; for the great *bugbear Dicesaris* naturally made us compress our port-manteaus into as small and *invisible* a size as possible. The road was enlivened by a party of Arpino ladies, escorted by their *cavalieri*. I know not whether Tullia in her airings with her father and mother, rode like them astride. The custom, which ought to be honoured *rather in the breach, than the observance*, is not uncommon with the better classes of the Roman ladies ; several of whom I have often met about Frascati, and the Tusculan groves, *equipped* in this manner. We might naturally conclude from this, that the Italian ladies are uncouth and masculine in their habits. Few countries however can boast a fair sex more happily disposed, than Italy. Their regular attendance at church, and general cultivation of music, preserve a serenity of temper, and suavity of manner, which harmonize admirably with the female character. They may be described as *moderately* accomplished ; neither do they bristle with mathematics, metaphysics, or discussions on *evanescent strata*, or *oxymuriatic acids*. The charge of infidelity in marriage, too

often substantiated, is more to be attributed to the profligate habits of their partners, than to their own inclinations.

We had now got complete footing in that part of Italy, known throughout the country by the name of *Il Regno*. What a multitude of reflections rush into the mind of the traveller, as he enters this interesting tract! Go to Amiterno, you will trace there a Sallust, unrivalled for the clearness and brevity of his historical narration; at Sulmona, the poet, who knew how to embellish subjects, which in the hands of an inferior genius, would only excite sentiments of disgust; at Venosa, we find the inimitable Horace, whose villas we have lately described; at Ruvo, an Ennius, enough of whose fragments remain, to make us regret the loss of his entire works. At Taranto, we shall find an Archytas instituting a school of philosophy, which in physical science, eclipsed any of the Athenian. Traverse in mind the territory between Taranto and Reggio, you will find it formerly inhabited by a people, not less remarkable for their knowledge of the fine arts and elegancies of life, than for their institutions in philosophy and legislation. Ascend

northward by the classic grove of Agathocles; and you will reach Elea, another celebrated seat of the Italo-Grecian school of philosophy; while at Pæstum, we shall find still existing, monuments of a people, which after a lapse of three thousand years, proclaim their skill in architecture.

Even in the middle ages, this country was distinguished; at a period too when darkness brooded over the rest of Europe. At Salerno, we discover a school, which sent forth the first medical professors in Europe, before the sun of science had lighted up Padua; at Amalfi, a people, who had intelligence enough to appreciate the Pandects of Justinian. The commercial world too will not forget that it was to a citizen of Amalfi, that navigation is indebted for the mariner's compass. At Sessa, we discover a Nifo, whose works, though now consigned to dusty shelves, proclaim him one of the most diligent commentators of the philosophy of Aristotle. At Sorrento, we find the cradle of the immortal poet of the Jerusalem Delivered, which holds probably the third rank among the great epic productions of the world. Go to the Queen of the Sirens, who, though

the *panther* (1) prowls in her streets, has always maintained a respectable rank in literature, and more especially in the fine arts. Yes — pierce this interesting region wheresoever you choose, you will find it always *volcanic* with the finest genius; from the days when Pythagoras propagated his doctrines in the south, down to those of a Cimarosa, in whom the powers of harmony were centred!

The encreasing roar of the falls of the Garigliano, interrupted the above reflections; and after passing through the village of *Isola*, situated as its name implies, and so surrounded by falling waters, that the inhabitants are condemned to a perpetual stunning, we began to ascend the bold ridge on which Arpino stands. To our right, embosomed in a wood of oaks, was the villa of a Neapolitan nobleman. The scenery commanded by this ridge, which improved every step we took for a whole league, baffles all description. To our left was the vale of *Sora*, fertilized by the *Liris* and *Fibrenus*; while to the right, appeared valley beyond valley, Apennine beyond Apennine, spreading

(1) La Lonza di Dante.

their shaggy and purple summits even to the confines of Daunia. We entered the southern gate of Arpino, just as the sunk sun was crimsoning the west with flakes of fire.

The information that we derive from the ancient historians respecting *Arpinum*, is very scanty. Its antiquity however is so remote, that Saturnus, as I have before remarked, is its reputed founder. Those however who affirm that it was built by that God, or hero, may as well say, that they know nothing about its origin. Clavelli, an historiographer of Arpino, boldly asserts that it is upwards of a thousand years older than Rome; but the vanity of the Italians is no where more remarkable than in treating of the origin of their cities (1(Middleton errs in stating that it was a city of the Samnites; we find from Livius, that though occupied by that warlike people, it was included in the territory of the Volsci. In remuneration of the spirit which the inhabitants displayed in repelling the martial Samnites, it obtained the privileges of a *municipium*, without suffrage; and subsequently annexed to the *Tri-*

(1) Clav. Storia d'Arpino, p. 7, Napoli, 1618.

bus Cornelia, obtained from the senate, the right of suffrage in the nomination of its magistrates, and the full prerogatives of a *municipium* (1). Clavelli relates, that by the *Porta dell' Arco*, a gateway of the old city, the monument of Saturnus existed in his time, consisting of a pyramid of Cyclopian stones, with a *falx* in relief, and the following verses inscribed :

CONDITUR · HIC · PRIMUS ·

SATURNUS · MORTE · DEORUM ·

ILLIUS · IMPERIO ·

ARPINUM · FUNDAMINA · SUMPSIT ·

I saw indeed, near this gateway, some vast Cyclopian stones, which still go by the name of *il Monumento*, laid on each other like the *opus incertum* of Vitruvius, but nothing resembling a pyramidal monument, or inscription. According to the same author, the church of

(1) A. U. C. ccccxlvi. Eodem anno Sora, Arpinum; Consentia rapta à Samnitibus biennio post Arpinatibus civitas data De Formianis, Fundanisque municipibus, et Arpinatibus, C. Val. Tappo, tribunus plebis, promulgavit, ut iis suffragii latio, (nam antè sine suffragio habuerant civitatem,) esset. — Liv. IX. c. 32. X. c. 1. XXXviii. c. 36.

Santa Maria was a temple of *Mercurius Lanarius*, or *Mercury propitious to the clothiers*; and that of *San Michele*, in which nine niches are still discernible, a temple of the Muses.

The inhabitants testify in various ways, veneration for their illustrious townsman; in doing which, they only pay a debt of gratitude; for the orator in one of his letters says, *Non dubito quin scias quàm diligenter soleam municipes meos Arpinates tueri* (1). There is also a letter to Brutus, in which he recommends the delegates of Arpinum, and especially one Quintus Fufidius, to his protection.

M. T. CICERO TO HIS BRUTUS.

In a former letter, I recommended to your notice the delegates of Arpinum collectively, and with great earnestness. In this, I more particularly request your good offices in favour of Quintus Fufidius, with whom I live in terms of strict friendship. I beg you to consider this as adding weight to, not as detracting from, my former recommendatory letter. He is the son-in-law of Marcus Cæsius, one of my best

(1) Ep. Famil. XIII. ep. 2.

friends; and he served under me in Cilicia, as military tribune; in which office he so conducted himself, that I may rather be said to owe him obligations, than he, me. He is moreover, not unacquainted with the literary pursuits, common to us both; and this, I am persuaded, will ensure him an additional claim to your esteem. Receive him then, I beseech you, with all possible kindness: and use what influence you may have in calling forth his exertions as favourably as possible, in that mission, which he has undertaken contrary to his own inclinations, and solely in compliance with my wishes. For he is ambitious, as all good citizens naturally are, to obtain the good opinion of our municipality; neither is he indifferent to mine; especially as I persuaded him to accept the charge, which he has taken in hand. He cannot fail of success, if this letter shall procure your good services in his behalf.—Fare thee well (1).

I was not then surprised at finding in Arpino a *Teatro* and *Collegio Tulliano*. Several of the modern inhabitants have borne the *prænomena*

(1) Ep. Famil. XIII. ep. 12.

of *Marco Tullio*; how far they may have suited, we will not inquire too scrupulously. We read too of one *Marco Tullio Cicerone*, a distinguished officer of Arpino, who with the words *cedat toga armis* on his lips, cut off the hand of the governor of the castle of St. Angelo, at the sacking of Rome by Charles V. with one stroke of his sabre (1). The *insignia* of the city consist only of the imposing initials M. T. C. the inhabitants wisely preferring *letters to arms*.

In the same manner that the memory of Pindar saved Thebes, and the name of Aristotle, Stagira; so did the citizens of Arpino escape the ravages of war from the celebrity of their town. For in the wars between Ferdinand of Arragon, and the House of Anjou, for the Neapolitan throne, Pius the second, the ally of the first, gave orders to his general, Napoleone Orsini, who had been successful in his cause, to spare the *Arpinates*, who had sided with the French: *Parce Arpinatibus*, cried the generous pontiff, *ob Caii Murii, et Marcii Tullii memoriam* (2).

(1) Clav. Storia d'Arpino, p. 255.

(2) Campana Vit. Pii II.

The people of Arpino are in better condition than their neighbours in the pontifical state. The reasons are simple : one is, that the executive power is not vested in the hands of the priesthood in the kingdom of Naples ; the other, that there exists an active manufactory of cloths ; which , though inferior to the English , are reckoned equal to the best elsewhere manufactured in the Neapolitan territories.

The art of dyeing flourished anciently in Arpino, as is proved by the following inscriptions, found near ruins called *le torri ful-loniche*.

I.

P. GAVIUS. C. F.

CN. LONGIDIUS.

CN. TULLIUS.

M. COSSINIUS.

TURRIM MAJ.

ET INFERIOR.

II.

: ACERRO :

ITERUM EXTRUXIT :

: ET TURREIS :

III.

TINGERE LICEAT .

.... MATREDIUS .

..... ATREDIUS .

The first is interesting, for we discover the name of a Tullius, one of the partners probably in the manufactory. It tends to confirm the statement of Dio Cassius, who tells us that Cicero's father was a fuller. The third shews that the Roman municipal manufacturers took out licenses, like the English ale-house keepers. It will be remembered that our Blackstone was son of a dier. It would appear that the *diers* are destined to furnish the great expounders of law, and consequently to be *deathless*. Remains of the ancient *Cloaca* are still seen near the *Porta dell' Arco*; and it is of stupendous masonry. An inscription recording it, is preserved in the house of Signor Vito.

..... T

A C

CLUACAS FACIUND . . .

COER EIDEMQUE

PROBARUNT.

Observe the Volscian *Coerarunt* for *Curarunt*!

The following inscription found under the church of *S. Maria di Civita*, leads us to conclude that it occupies the site of the temple of *Mercurius Lanarius*, or *Mercury of the Clothiers*.

.... PLUM. SACRUM.

TRI.... MERCURIO. LAN.

CILIX. TULLI. L. S.

Here the name of a Cilician freedman of one of the *Tullii* occurs.

Immured in the walls of the church of *Sant' Antonio* is a bas-relief representing three females of the Fufidian family, with the following inscriptions :

P. FUFIDIUS. NOTUS. FECIT. V.

FUFIDIAE. P. F. FUFIDIAE. P. F. FUFIDIAE. P. F.

NOTAE. SORORI. AUG. MATRI. SATURNINAE.

Fufidius was an illustrious lawyer of Arpinum; and he is recommended by the orator, as we find in the above quoted letter, to Brutus. The *fundus Fufidianus*, which was in the environs of Arpino, occurs in the correspondence with Atticus.

The last is in the house of Signor Vito, and records another temple at Arpinum.

A. EIGIUS. C. F.

T. AGUSIUS. T. F. SIFILUS.

M. FUFIDIUS. M. F.

AEDEM. DE. S. P.

Here too we find the name of Fufidius. But this monument is interesting, for it mentions an *Agusius*, the individual perhaps who accompanied the orator in exile. He is noticed by him in the following epistle to Publius Servilius.

M. T. CICERO TO PUBLIUS SERVILIUS,
HIS COLLEAGUE.

Since our friendship is so manifest, I am under the obligation of recommending to your good offices many individuals; not that I expect that you should shew the same attention to all. Titus Agusius, who never abandoned me in the darkest hour of adversity, who was my constant companion in dangers and journies both by land and sea, is the bearer of this. His affection for me is so great, that he would not even now quit me, without my permission. I entreat you then to look upon him as one of my most valuable friends. You cannot confer a clearer testimony of your good will, than by

proving that this letter will be of infinite use to him (1).

On referring to the correspondence with Servius, I find also one *Cossinius* bearing a letter of recommendation. *M. Cossinius* appears in the first of the above inscriptions. In a letter to Atticus, the orator speaking of his death, says: *De Cossinio doleo; dilexi hominem*. There is another inscription on the pedestal of a statue in the house of Signor Cardelli, and supposed to relate to Marius.

C. M.

COS. VII. PR. TRIB. PL. . . .

Q. AUG. TR. MILITUM.

And so much for the inscriptions preserved at Arpino.

I remarked, I thought, a promptitude of intellect, and fluency of discourse in the inhabitants, which are not observable in those of the environs of Rome; attributable perhaps to the fine elasticity of the air, and confirming what Cicero remarks somewhere in the *De Natura Deorum*, that mountaineers are of finer organs,

(1) Ep. Famil. XIII. ep. 71.

and quicker susceptibility, than the natives of plains and vallies. The pure air of Arpino is also favourable to female beauty: and when seen in perfection in Italy, where is it more fascinating?

The main street, which is very narrow, leads to a *Piazza*, where workmen were actively employed in building a new town-hall, with niches destined to receive statues of Marius and Cicero. Here there is a fountain, flanked by two towers, with an eagle springing from the centre. The towers are symbols of Marius and Cicero; and the eagle is emblematic of the power of Rome.

The wretchedness of the inn (if inn it could be called,) was in some measure compensated by the ludicrous appearance of some strolling players, who were preparing to give their exhibition in the *Teatro Tulliano*. The apartment was the counterpart of Hogarth's well-known print. The host, who appeared fit to be major-domo to *Dicesaris*, strangling a half-starved fowl in the door-way;—his sister, a Tullia in her features, a Maritornes in her mind, stirring with her black and greasy hands an immense sallad; who though barbarous, ap-

peared good, and except when engaged with the kitchen utensils, Tanaquil herself could not have been busier with the distaff; a quack-doctor, a meagre and grotesque figure rehearsing his part; a hero, and a pretty girl who was to be rescued by his prowess, at least furnished us with a subject for merriment, which we had no right to expect in so remote a town in the Apennines. We followed this Thespian band to the theatre, where they sustained their parts with spirit, and their action and rehearsal was not spoiled by those artificial gestures and screams usually seen and heard in the greater theatres of Italy. The orchestra, composed only of five violins, serenaded the spectators, when the drop-scene was let down, which displayed ill-painted busts of Marius and Cicero. The applause was loud and frequent; the audience apparently determining to abide by their ancient character of belonging to the *fidelis, et simplex, et faulrix suorum regio* (1). It is not in the greater theatres of Italy, that the stranger can hope to form a good idea of Italian acting. I was more pleased with the pure, unsophisti-

(1) Pro Plancio, loc. citat.

cated style of representation exhibited by this company at Arpino, than at the greater theatres of Milan, Turin, Florence, and Naples. A comedy of Goldoni seen in the afternoon in the venerable amphitheatre at Verona, will afford a higher satisfaction than representations at Venice, or the greater capitals. This must be attributed to the too great prevalence of music in Italy, which infects actors of respectable, but not of high powers, with *sing-song*, and operatic gesticulation.

On returning to the inn, we found to our dismay, that the only single apartment in the house was reserved for the Thespian band. We required the major-domo *to take a rule to shew cause* why fatigued strangers, who had come from Rome to Arpino, should not be accommodated as well as a company of strolling players. This was followed by a vehement Philippic on the part of our host, delivered in the uncouth Neapolitan dialect, *pro Rosciis comædis*; by which we soon discovered that we were *non-suited*. We even put up with a truss of hay in a contiguous out-house, separated only from the sneezing cattle, by a thin partition.

The actual population of Arpino is between ten and eleven thousand souls. It gave birth to *Giuseppe di Cesare*, better known by the title of *il cavalier d'Arpino*; whose frescos at Rome and Naples, betraying a genius rather florid than powerful, rank him perhaps among artists of the second class in Italy. He has been commemorated in the following madrigal by Marini, esteemed one of the best in the Italian language :

Nasce in Arpin Giuseppe, ed in Arpino

Nacque il più chiaro dicitor Latino.

Pari in ambi è lo stile, e sono uguali

Gli artifizj, e i colori,

E le glorie, e gli onori ;

Quei parlando però difender seppe

La vita de' mortali ;

Ma tu tacendo sai

Donar la vita a chi non visse mai.

There has existed for many years, a philharmonic society at Arpino, which has sent to various parts of Europe several distinguished performers, both vocal and instrumental; among them, one Signora Sperduti, *prima cantatrice*.

assoluta at the opera in London, and who died there about the middle of the last century.

Before dawn, swarming with fleas, we quitted with no small satisfaction our pestiferous inn; and ascending almost immediately a very steep rock, reached in about half an hour, *Arpino vecchio*, which occupies the site of the ancient town. On entering the gateway, we were greeted with the following inscription, of no remote date :

ARPINUM . A . SATURNO . CONDITUM .
 VOLSCORUM . CIVITATEM .
 ROMANORUM . MUNICIPIUM .
 MARCI . TULLII . CICERONIS .
 ELOQUENTIAE . PRINCIPIS .
 ET . CAII . MARII . SEPTIES . CONSULIS . PATRIAM :
 INGREDERE . VIATOR .
 HINC . AD . IMPERIUM . TRIUMPHALIS .
 AQUILA . EGRESSA .
 URBI . TOTUM . ORBEM . SUBEGIT .
 EJUS . DIGNITATEM . AGNOSCAS .
 ET . SOSPES . ESTO .

Ejus dignitatem agnovimus; and the *Cicerone*, a title which has singular force here, shewed us hard by, an ancient cistern, foun-

dations of old walls, and three subterraneous arches, called by the inhabitants, *i muri di Cece*, (*quasi muri Ciceronis*,) thought by Clavelli, to be the ruins of the paternal mansion of the Ciceros; which Quintus, brother of the orator, inherited; while the villa below, near the confluence of the Fibrenus and Liris, devolved on Marcus, after the death of their father (1).

Contiguous is a Cyclopian arch, older, I have little doubt, than the oldest stones of *Latium antiquissimum*. This arch is interesting, as presenting a perfect point, and proving that that characteristic of what is called the Gothic style, is even antecedent to the Roman, or circular arch. It consists only of eleven colossal stones laid on each other without cement. The accomplished Signora Dionigi in her *Viaggi nel Lazio*, has given an elegant engraving of this arch, which she calls *la porta acuminata d'Arpino*, as well as of the Cyclopian ruins still seen in Alatri, Atina, and the other Saturnian cities. Several towers of the ancient

(1) Cic. Ep. ad Att. XIII. ep. 46. Plutarch. in Ciceron. and Clav. Storia d'Arpino, p. 17.

walls are still standing, originally of Roman work, but probably added to in the middle ages. They are evidently of a much later date than the above-mentioned arch. We were shewn here too the vestiges of a street, perhaps the *via Græca*, noticed by the orator in one of his letters to Quintus : *ibam fortè viâ Græcâ, cum tuæ literæ mihi redditæ sunt*. This street, which is covered with irregular flags, like the *via Appia*, is now called *la via Cicerò*. Tracks of the old wheels are here visible, as at Pompeii.

There exists near Arpino, a monastery inhabited by monks of the order of La Trappe, which goes by the name of *Casamari*, (*quasi domus Marii*,) perhaps occupying the site of his villa called *Cirrhæaton*, whither he retired after his long military services (1). On the other hand, it is to be observed that there is a village near the Liris, called *Cevernate*, a corruption probably of *Cirrhæaton*, the name of the Marian villa. We hoped in vain for some

(1) Τον ὅλλον χρόνον, ἐν κωμῇ Κυρραϊκῶν τῆς Αρπινῆς διακίτην εἶχε. Plutarch. in Mario.

Clavelli absurdly pretends that the Marian oak existed in his time, (A. D. 1600,) determined to make it *canescere sæclis innumerabilibus*.

Nuntia fulva Jovis , mirandâ visa figurâ ;

steering her mazy flight from the Apennines , to declare by her perching , the actual site.

But the memory of this military man of Arpinum , in spite of his imposing attitudes in the Minturnensian marshes , and under the walls of Carthage , was quickly banished by the magic spell of

Cedant arma togæ , concedat laurea linguæ ,

and having gratified our curiosity with the venerable ruins of *Arpino vecchio* , we seated ourselves by the *porta acuminata* , and enjoyed the view of the rising sun gradually throwing his crimson tints over the majestic Apennines ; — type , I thought , of the widely extended influence of the mind of the Man of Arpinum. For where is the school which does not echo with his sentences ? Where the statesman , whose speech does not acquire dignity by their adoption ? Where the advocate , whose arguments are not strengthened by an occasional resort to his terse and sonorous periods ? Where the philosophical or moral essay , which does not acquire force by his illustrations ? Where
in

in fine, the typographer, who does not boast of publishing a correct and splendid edition of his immortal works? The very stones *prating of his whereabouts*, almost seemed to utter to our ears the lines of Silius Italicus :

*Tullius æratās raptabat in agmina turmas ,
Regia progenies, et Tullo sanguis ab alto.
Indole proh ! quantū juvenis, quantumque daturus
Ausoniæ populis ventura in sæcula civem.
Ille super Gangem, super exauditus et Indos ,
Implebit terras voce, et furialia bella
Fulmine compescet linguæ, nec cuique relinquet
Par decus eloquiū cuiquam sperare nepotum.*

If we wanted testimonies respecting the birth-place of the consummate orator, his own words would clear all doubt. *Hæc est mea, et hujus fratris mei germana patria; hinc enim orti stirpe antiquissimā sumus : hic sacra, hic genus, hic majorum multa vestigia hoc ipso in loco me scito esse natum itaque hanc esse meam patriam prorsus nunquam negabo* (1).

Pompeius said that Rome was bound by eternal gratitude to the municipality of Arpinum, for having furnished her with two savi-

(1) De Legg. II. sub init.

ours. Hortensius too, in an emphatical sentence, thus addressed his friend and rival in full senate : *Fateor te esse ex eo municipio, et addo etiam ex eo municipio, unde salus huic urbi et imperio iterum exorta est* (1).

We followed the rough and rapid descent to the Fibrenus, and presently entered a wood of very fine oaks, which, as the soil is a stiff loam, flourish luxuriantly about Arpino. These no doubt are the descendants in a right line of the *Arpinatium quercus* mentioned by the orator in the *De Legibus*. *Ego locum æstate umbrosiorem vidi nunquam, permultis locis aquam profluentem, et eam uberem*. Such are the words of Cicero in a letter to Quintus, descriptive of the villa of his brother at Arce, in the neighbouring country; such too is the picture of this wood, which the heat of the sun made every moment, more grateful. The encreasing warmth invited several vipers from their holes; and the common lizards, larger than in the *Campagna di Roma*, were very numerous. Our guide informed us that a species is occasionally seen in the environs of Arpino, two feet in length, and

(1) Appian. Bel. Civ.

called *il Raccolo*, of a bright yellow colour; the bite of which is dangerous. No part of Italy north of the Catabrias, is so much infested with the reptile and insect tribe as the Abruzzos. Scorpions and tarantulas are found; and fleas are so numerous and voracious, that we noticed the brawny chests of the peasantry scratched raw from their attacks. It may then be imagined how strangers suffer, who import fresh blood distilled from the wholesome beef and generous port-wine of England. The Abate Pacichelli, in his *Regno di Napoli in Prospettiva*, states that a town near the Fucine lake, was so infested with venomous reptiles and insects, as to cause the inhabitants to abandon it to ruin (1). Virgil seems to allude to the frequency of poi-

(1) *Penna posta in ruina, deshabitata, già per la moltitudine degli animali velenosi.* — The inhabitants of Penna were not so fortunate as their ancestors; who if we may believe Solinus, and Servius, had the powerful *living antiseptics* of Circe and Medea, to deliver them from these pests: *Gentem Marsorum serpentibus illæsam esse; Circen, Angitiam, vicinam Fucino occupasse ferunt; ibique salubri scientiâ deam haberi.* Solin. VIII.

Medea dicitur ad Italiam pervenisse, et circa Fucinum lacum habitantes docuit remedia contra serpentes. Servius ad *Æneid.* VII.

sonous animals in the neighbourhood, when he introduces one of his heroes from the banks of the Fucine lake, and whom he describes as celebrated for his skill in curing the bites of the Marsic serpents.

*Quin et Marrubid venit de gente sacerdos ,
Fronde super galeam, et felici comptus olivâ ,
Archippi regis missu , fortissimus Umbro.
Vipereo generi , et graviter spirantibus hydri ;
Spargere qui somnos, cantuque manuque solebat,
Mulcebatque iras, et morsus arte levabat.
Sed non Dardaniæ medicari cuspidis ictum
Evaluit ; neque eum juvère in vulnera cantus
Somniferi, et Marsis quæsitæ in montibus herbæ.
Te nemus Angitice, vitred te Fucinus undâ ,
Te liquidi flevère lacus !*

Umbro the priest, the proud Marrubians led
By king Archippus sent to Turnus' aid,
And peaceful olives crown'd his hoary head.
His wand and holy words the serpent's rage,
And venom'd wounds of vipers could assuage.
He when he pleas'd with pow'rful juice to steep
Their temples, shut their eyes in pleasing sleep.
But vain were Marsian herbs, and magic art,
To cure the wound given by Dardan dart.
Yet his untimely fate th' Angitian woods
In sighs remurmur'd to the Fucine floods.

DRYDEN.

Mineral waters are common, especially near the Liris; but they have not been analysed; and there is a mountain between Arpino and Atina abounding with iron, but no shafts have been sunk. The neighbouring Apennines are rich in marbles, which are *breccia*, *fior di persico*, white, and *schizato rosso*.

A grand and irregular chain of mountains skreened from our view the Fucine lake, a sheet of water forty-seven miles in circumference, and the largest of the Italian lakes south of the Milanese. It no where exceeds twenty fathoms in depth. Strabo however compares it to an inland sea, lashing the shores with its waves. It is also noticed by Lycophron; and by Virgil, in the passage above quoted. The Fucine lake is memorable from the stupendous emissary undertaken by the emperor Claudius; the object of which was to discharge the waters into the Liris, only three miles from the lake, and to bring the bed into cultivation. Such difficulties however did the intervening mountains present, that the cutting of the subterraneous canal, occupied incessantly for eleven years, thirty thousand men. It appears from Suetonius, that Julius meditated this underta-

king. Augustus, of not such brilliant talents, but of sounder sense, would have nothing to say to the Marsi, who repeatedly solicited of him permission to drain the lake. At last it was undertaken by Claudius, *non minus compendii spe quàm gloriæ*, says Suetonius. Plinius gives us a striking picture of the difficulty of the enterprize: *Ejusdem Claudii inter maximè memoranda duxerim, quamvis destitutum successoris odio, montem perfossum ad lacum Fucinum emittendum, inenarrabili profectò impendio, et operarum multitudine per tot annos, cùm aut corrivatio aquarum quâ terrenus mons erat, egeretur in vertice machinis, aut silex cæderetur, omniaque intus in tenebris fierent, quæ neque concipi animo, nisi ab iis qui vidère, neque humano sermone enarrari possunt!* To communicate light and air to the workmen, shafts were sunk with incredible labour; some perpendicular, others horizontally inclining. Of these twenty-two have been discovered; and one, which was not long since cleared of rubbish, is five hundred *palmi* deep, and twenty in width. One of the inclined *cuniculi* nearest the lake, is about one hundred *palmi* in depth, and thirty in width; another perpendicular, and conti-

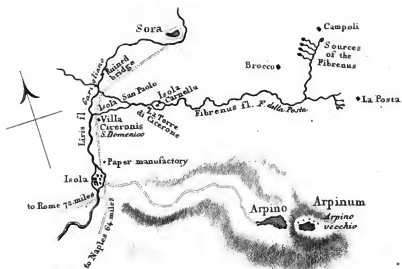
guous, is three hundred deep, and fifteen in width; and a fourth, near the exit of the emissary towards the Liris, is four hundred *palmi* in depth, and fifteen in width. The preparations completed, Claudius determined to outdo Augustus in the splendour of the spectacle. In a *Naumachia* given by the latter, eighteen thousand combatants were embarked in small barks. Claudius employed nineteen thousand combatants, who manned large galleys. The emperor was seen to stagger round the lake, urging them to fight, partly by entreaties, partly by threats : *lacus non sine fœdâ vacillatione discurrens, partim minando, partim adhortando, ad pugnam compulit.* A splendid banquet was prepared for the emperor and his suite, close to the emissary; but it appears that the imperial guests fled precipitately, as soon as the sluices were opened, panic-struck by the *rombo dell' aria*, and convulsion of the earth, occasioned by the sudden intromission of such a weight of water into so confined a space : *vis aquarum prorumpens, proxima trahebat, convulsis ulterioribus, et sonitu exterritis.* The operations were imperfectly conducted by a clumsy engineer to a clumsy emperor : *non satis depressum opus ad lacus ima*

vel media. The circumjacent shores must have presented an extraordinary appearance. The ridiculous and untoward gestures of the emperor (1), the intrigues of the empress to ruin Narcissus, the anxiety of the engineer destined probably to explore his own emissary in case of failure; the silver Triton rising from the water, and blowing the signal for the combat, the Apennines lined with myriads of spectators, the shouts of the prætorian guards, the groans of the criminals destroyed by the *catapultæ* and *balistæ*, must have presented an union of the *bizarre* and *sublime*, never probably before, and certainly never since realized.

The banditti in the fastnesses above Sora, deterred us from visiting this interesting sheet of water, now called *il lago di Celano*. We felt no small regret at this disappointment; for Alba, which retains its ancient name, and where Domitian instituted literary combats, presents considerable remains of its polygonal Cyclopiæ walls; besides ruins of a theatre,

(1) Claudius however was only *heavy* as an emperor.—He had a cultivated mind, and was fond of literature. Suetonius tells us that he wrote a defence of Cicero against the aspersions of Asinius Gallus.





Topographical Sketches

amphitheatre, and temple, now converted into a church. Alba too is of note, as having been the fortress, where the Roman senate confined their illustrious prisoners; among others, Syphax, Perseus king of Macedon, and his son, Alexander. A ruined Doric temple is also seen on the site of Angitia (1).

But the Fibrenus rolling its crystal flood in the vale below, presently banished all thoughts on the Fucine lake, and the extravagant projects of Claudius. Many streams celebrated in story and song disappoint the traveller :

Dumb are their fountains, and their channels dry :

but in the course of long travels, I never met with so abundant and lucid a current as the Fibrenus; the length of the stream considered, which does not exceed four miles and a half. It flows with great rapidity; and about thirty, or thirty-five feet in width near the Ciceronian isles, is generally fifteen, and even twenty in depth. *Largus et exundans*, like the genius of of him, who had so often trodden its banks.

(1) Tacit. Ann. XII. Sueton. in Claud. Sanseverino Not. ad Tacit. and Liv. XXX. 12. XLV. 36.

*Equidem qui nunc primùm huc venerim, satiarì non queo; magnificasque villas, et pavimenta marmorea, et laqueata tecta contemno. Ductus verò aquarum quos isti Nilos et Euripos vocant, quis non, cùm hæc videat, irriserit ? (1) The water even in the intensest heats, retains an icy coldness, which it communicates to the Garigliano; a property noticed by Quintus, in the dialogue *De Legibus*. *Lirim multò gelidiorem facit; nec enim ullum hoc frigidius flumen attigi, cùm ad multa accesserim, ut vix pede tentare id possim.* Though the thermometer was above 80°, in the shade, the hand plunged for more than a few seconds into the Fibrenus, caused a complete numbness; and the breeze wafted by its rapid current, inhaled with force, occasioned that sensation which we call in England, *setting the teeth on edge*. This classic stream, the noise of whose waters is heard in the senates and tribunals of the civilized world, now goes by the name of *il fiume della Posta*. It forms two islands, which will presently be noticed more circumstantially. On the *Isola di Carnella*, or upper islet, there is a picturesque overshot*

(1) De Legg. II. sub init.

mill belonging to the king ; and close by , is a very ancient tower , nearly overgrown with ivy , and known in the country by the name of *la torre di Cicerone*. It stands insulated , neither could I discover traces of any contiguous building. (*See Frontispiece , Fig. 1.*) Continuing our walk by the margin of the Fibrenus , among vines and pollard poplars , for about another mile , we arrived at the abandoned convent of *San Domenico* , built on the site , and with the fragments of the Arpine villa of Cicero. It occupies three sides of a square , one of which is the church , which has also a large subterraneous chapel , supported by shafts of one stone. *Indicia* of the corrupt Roman style called in England , Saxon , are observable throughout the building ; which was erected A. D. 1030. Fragments of marble pavements , and *opus reticulatum* , columns , bases , capitals , frises , detruncated consular statues , and busts , lie scattered in the court-yard , or are immured in the walls of the monastery. The most interesting I found in the wall of the chapel facing the court ; and they shew that the Doric order chiefly prevailed in the Arpine villa. (*See Frontispiece , Figs. 2 , 3 , 4 , 5 , and 6.*) Two

of the fragments are probably of a composite frise; and one seems to picture the Marian eagle. Nothing but the memory of Tullius could have made me stand more than an hour to sketch these fragments in a scorching sun reverberated from the gleaming walls; and I hailed the moment of entering the Amalthea, and exclaiming with the brother of the orator, *sed in insulam ventum est*; I can truly add *hâc verò nihil amœnius*! And here we felt the force of what Tullius says, speaking of the relief afforded by the recollection of past pleasures to actual pain: *ut si quis æstuans, cum vim caloris non facile patiatur, recordari velit, se aliquando in Arpinati nostro, gelidis fluminibus circumfusum fuisse* (1). With us it was the reverse, the present pleasure banishing the past and painful effects of the solar heat.

There appears however to be some doubt which of the two islands formed by the Fibrenus, is the real Amalthea; for it is certain that there is an ambiguity in the words of Quintus Cicero, in the above-mentioned dialogue, who says: *Ut enim hoc quasi rostro finditur Fibrenus,*

(1) Tusc. Quæst. V. 26.

et divisus æqualiter in duas partes latera hæc alluit, rapidèque dilapsus, citò in unum confluit, et tantum complectitur quod satis sit modicæ palæstræ, loci; quo effecto, tanquam id habuerit operis, ac muneris, ut hanc nobis efficeret sedem ad disputandum, statim præcipitat in Lirim, et quasi in familiam patriciam venerit, amittit nomen obscurius. The words *citò in unum confluit* certainly appear at first sight, more applicable to the *Isola di Carnella*, or upper isle. (See the *topographical sketch*.) On the other hand, *statim præcipitat in Lirim* is better understood in reference to the *lower* island, describing exactly the two beautiful cataracts discharged by either branch of the Fibrenus at their junction with the Liris (1). It appears to me that Cicero would not have used the word *statim*, had he alluded to the *Isola di Carnella*. We surely can refer the words *in unum confluit* to the Liris, without offering a violent strain to the sense. The *lower* isle will then be rather the Amalthea of Cicero; which is not above fifty

(1) Wilson, in his classical landscape of *Cicero at his villa*, has not ill represented one of the cataracts of the Fibrenus. Whether he was ever at Arpino, I know not.

yards from the Dominican convent. It was so called from a villa which Atticus possessed in Epirus : *Velim ad me scribas*, says the orator to his invaluable friend, *cujusmodi sit Ἀμαλθεῖον tuum, quo ornatu, quæ τοποθεσία, et quæ poëmata, quasque historias de Ἀμαλθείᾳ habes, ad me mittas. Labet mihi facere in Arpinati Amalthea mea te expectat, et indiget tui De Amalthed, quod admones, faciam* (1). The Arpine villa was repaired and embellished by the orator's father, as we are informed in the *De Legibus*; subsequently it fell into the hands of Silius Italicus, as we may collect from an epigram of Martial :

*Silius hæc magni celebrat monumenta Maronis,
Jugera facundi qui Ciceronis habet.
Hæredem, dominumque sui tumulique, larisque,
Non alium mallet nec Maro nec Cicero.
Janì propè desertos cineres, et sancta Maronis
Nomina qui coleret, pauper et unius erat.
Silius Arpino tandem succurrit agello;
Silius et vatem, non minor ipse, colit.*

(1) Ad Att. I. ep. 6. II. epp. 1. 7. There would not have been room for the improvements here alluded to, in the upper isle.

We can trace nothing further respecting it, till the tenth century, when it became the property of the Counts of Sora; one of whom animated with a religious zeal, made it over to Saint Dominic; who with his followers there paved an easier high road to virtue than its former occupant; and who

*to be sure of Paradise,
Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,
Or in Franciscan thought to pass disguis'd.*

Not but that many of them were far nearer the goal than that multitude of mean spirits, who too often infest the European courts; and who without any merit of their own, prohibit all access to the temple, except to such as may obtain their special license to enter.

The Arpine retreat is frequently mentioned in the great orator's correspondence, with Atticus especially. He styles it his inheritance, and the abode of his ancestors; *meus paternus, avitusque fundus Arpinas*. Here he retired during the summer heats, to enjoy the cool air wafted by the Tibrenus: *Ego ex caloribus, (non enim meminimus majores,) in Arpinate, summâ cum*

amœnitate fluminis me refeci (1). Here too he betook himself, to avoid the intrusion of irksome and petulant visitors, or as we should say in homely dialect, *bored* and *dandies* : *Quò me vertam ? statim meherculè Arpinum irem Quos ego homines effugi, cùm in hos incidi ! Ego verò*

In montes patrios, et in incunabula nostra Pergam ———

Denique si solus, non potuero cum rusticis potius, quàm cum his perurbanis ? About to join Pompeius in Greece, it was to Arpinum, that he advised his wife Terentia to retire, if she should find living too expensive at Rome : *fundo Arpinati benè poteris uti, si annona carior fuerit* (2). Here he found a secure retreat, when it would have been fatal to him perhaps to have remained in the capital : *Romamne venio, an hic maneo, an Arpinum, ἀσφάλειαν habet hic locus, fugio ?* Here too, during a continuance of violent rains, frequent in the Apennines, he composed his philosophical treatise, dedicated to Varro : *nos cùm flumina, et solitudines se-*

(1) Orat. Agrar. II. 7. Ad Quint Frat. III. ep. 1.

(2) Ad Att. II. epp. 14, 15. Famil. XIV. ep. 7.

queremur

queremur, quò faciliùs sustentare nos possemus, pedem è villà adhuc egressi non sumus; ila magnos et assiduos imbres habebamus. Illam Academicam συνταξιν totam Varroni traduximus (1). His activity at the bar and in the senate, did not hinder him from superintending his farms, and settling his rents at Arpinum : *mihi Arpinum eundum est; nam opus est constitui à nobis illa prædiola, et constituere mercedulas prædiorum*. Here too he loved to regale Atticus with plain country fare : *te in Arpinati videbimus, et hospitio agresti accipiemus*. In the heat of the contest between Cæsar and Pompeius, when property, and even existence were at stake, the favourite Arpine retreat was often uppermost in his thoughts : *ego Arpini esse volo pridie Kal. deinde circum villulas nostras errare, quas visurum me postea desperavi . . . si Cæsar Appiâ veniret, ego Arpinum cogitabam. . . . nos autem in Formiano morabamur, quò citiùs audiremus; deinde Arpinum volebamus Arpinumnè mihi eundum sit, an quo alio?* (2)

(1) Ad Att. XVI. ep. 8. Ibid. XIII. epp. 16, 20.

(2) Ad Att. XIII. ep. 9. II. ep. 16. VIII. epp. 9, 16. IX. ep. 1, 17.

Notwithstanding his attachment to the beauty and retirement of the spot, he was not sorry occasionally to exchange it for Tusculanum : *narro tibi hæc loca venusta sunt, abdita certè, et si quid scribere velis, ab arbitris libera. Sed nescio quomodo οικας Φίλος. Itaque me referunt pedes in Tusculanum. Et tamen hæc ῥωπεγοραΦία ripulæ videtur habitura celerem satietatem. Equidem etiam pluviæ metuo. Rancæ enim ῥηγορευουσιν* (1). When Antonius was spreading terror and desolation throughout the republic, his friend Atticus thought that he could be no where safer than at Arpinum; couching his advice to retire thither, in enigmatical language, borrowed from Homer : *Cùm venissem diluculò ad pontem Tirenium, qui est Minturnis, in quo flexus est ad iter Arpinas, obviam mihi fit tabelarius, qui me offendit δελιχεν πλεον ὀρμαινοντα. Ego inquam, cedo, si quid ad Attico. . . . ecce tibi altera, quæ hortaris παρ' ηνεμοεντα μιμαντα, νησον επι Ψυριης, Appiam επ' αριστερ' εχοντα* (2) It was in the Amalthea, that he intended to erect a temple to his beloved Tullia; but

(1) Ad Att. XV. ep. 16.

(2) Ad Att. XVI. ep. 13.

changing repeatedly his intention, some have thought that he built it on the *via Appia*, near the Alban hills; while Bayle and Middleton seem to think that he abandoned the project altogether: *Ego quantum his temporibus tam eruditis fieri poterit, præsertim illam consecrabo omni genere monumentorum, ab omnium ingenii scriptorum, et Græcorum et Latinorum Fanum fieri volo, nec hoc mihi suadela erueri potest. Sepulchri similitudinem effugere, non tam propter pœnam legis studeo, quàm ut maximè assequar ἀποθῶσι. Insula Arpinas habere potest germanam ἀποθῶσι; sed vereor ne minorem τιμὴν habere videatur. Ἐκτοπιμός est (1). In fine, he was so attached to the Arpine villa, that he styled the Amalthea, and the upper island, the *blessed isles*: *Ne vivam, mi Attice, si mihi non modo Tusculanum, ubi ceteroqui sum libenter, sed ΜΑΚΑΡΩΝΗΣΟΙ tantum sunt, ut sine te sim totos dies!* (2)*

And no wonder; for nothing can be imagined finer than the surrounding landscape. The deep azure of the sky unvaried by a single cloud;

(1) Ad Att. XII. epp. 12, 18, 56.

(2) Ad Att. XII. ep. 3.

Sora on a rock, at the foot of the precipitous Apennines; both banks of the Garigliano covered with vineyards; the *fragor aquarum* alluded to by Atticus in the *De Legibus*; the coolness, rapidity, and ultramarine hue of the Fibrenus; the noise of its two cataracts; the rich turquoise colour of the Liris; the minor Apennines round Arpino, crowned with umbrageous oaks to their very summits, presented scenery hardly elsewhere to be equalled, certainly not to be surpassed even in Italy.

I was engaged with the *De Legibus*; (*quid enim egi potius, aut in quo melius hunc consumpsi diem?*) The scene of it, as every classical Tiro knows, is laid in the Amalthea. It is a dialogue, which can only be considered a magnificent sketch. Often was it abandoned for the consideration of the many interesting occurrences of which the Amalthea must have been the scene. Sometimes I pictured the great orator at the head of the island, writing to his brother in Britain: *O jucas mihi tuas de Britannia literas! Te verò viderem scribendi egregiam habere video. Quos tu situs, quas naturas rerum et locorum, quos mores, quas gentes, quas pugnas, quem verò ipsum imperatorem ha-*

bes (1) ! Now sketching the outlines of the *Pro Scauro*, and *Pro Plancio* (2); and now turning to Brutus with that majesty of expression, which sat so naturally on himself, but which would be ridiculous in others : *Mi Brute, quid ocellos Italiae villulas meas dixerim ?* one while returning from Rome, accompanied perhaps by Hortensius, whom a few hours before, he had struck dumb with his *Actio prima in Verrem*; Terentia, the amiable Tullia, with little Pilia and Attica, hastening from the Amalthea to greet his arrival; and now soothing the anxieties of his Atticus with

*O Tite, si quid ego adjûro, curamve levdsso,
Quæ nunc te coquit, et versat sub pectore fixa;
Ecquid erit pretii ?*

Tiro, or Laurea Tullius introducing *tabellarii* from the tribunals, among them one from Catullus, presenting :

*Disertissime Romuli nepotum,
Quot sunt, quotque fuere, Marco Tulli,*

(1) Ad Quint. Frat. II. ep. 15.

(2) These orations were composed at Arpinum; as we find from a letter ad Quint. Frat. III. ep. 1. Fragments of the *Pro Scauro* have been lately discovered by A. Maio at Milan.

*Et quot post aliis erunt in annis ;
 Gratias tibi maximas Catullus
 Agit, pessimus omnium poeta,
 Tantò pessimus omnium poeta,
 Quantò tu optimus omnium patronus.*

And here as I sat me under the poplars which shade the Fibrenus, on the very spot where Tullius had often meditated his sublimest harangues (1), I could not help drawing conclusions in favour of exalted eloquence above every other effort of the human mind. The philosopher indeed may attain immortality by ruminating in his closet ; the poet, by consulting at leisure his force, and by taking advantage of happy moments, may surprise us by extraordinary flights of imagination, and his insight into the human heart ; so in an inferior degree, may the painter and sculptor, with the additional merit of mechanical dexterity. But the great orator, like Tullius, must not only be endued with a deep knowledge of human nature, and the secret springs of the heart, but unite all

(1) *In insulâ quæ in Fibreno sermoni demus operam sedentes ; nam eo loco libentissimè soleo uti, sive quid mecum ipse cogito, sive aut scribo, aut lego.—De Legg. II. 2.*

those fine and strong feelings on which the *affatus poeticus* depends, to the valour of the warrior. And we need only refer to the annals of nations, to see how very few have been able to combine these qualifications. It is incontestable that many individuals in modern times, have taken incredible pains with their minds; but we search in vain, in the productions of those reputed the most successful, the supported argumentative powers of Demosthenes, or the grandeur, variety, and rotundity of the Ciceronian periods. To what are we to attribute the failure? To our love of daintier food, and more luxurious habits, than the great men of antiquity? To our physical and mental inferiority? Or to the crippling that the mind suffers, from its more multiplied ramifications? It is not easy to determine. I ended the above reflections with the conviction, that a great and honest lawyer is of inestimable value, and forms the brightest ornament of every civilized state.

The works of this extraordinary man may be classed as follows :

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Metaphysical. | 4. Forensic and Senatorial. |
| 2. Ethical. | 5. Epistolary. |
| 3. Didactic. | 6. Poetic. |

propose to state briefly a few ideas respecting some of them, which occurred chiefly in the Amalthea.

The grandeur of Cicero will be immediately apparent, by casting our eyes over this simple arrangement of his productions; and it will be found that in either of the above departments of literature, (if we except the last,) he has left works that bear the stamp of undisputed excellence.

With regard to his metaphysical, Joseph Scaliger is too precipitate in underrating them; for though the merit of originality rests with the Greek schools, we have no works transmitted from antiquity, that present at once so concise and comprehensive a view of the opinions of the different Grecian philosophers; for Cicero records the sentiments of several, not noticed by Diogenes Laertius; or if noticed, only mentioned by name. This applies especially to the *Academical Questions*, to the treatises *De Fato*, *De Universo*, *De Finibus*, *Bonorum et Malorum*, and *De Natura Deorum*.

The last will be always one of the *fair havens* resorted to by those, whose minds are buffeted

by the contemplation of the obscurity, that broods on our condition here below.

The *De Divinatione*, though a composition teeming with noble thoughts, and splendid sentences, must be considered valuable to the moderns, more as presenting curious details respecting the opinions, and religious system of his age, than as a treatise, whereby we can reap signal profit from the perusal.

He no where unites more happily a brilliant imagination to a high reach of thought, than in the fragment of the *Somnium Scipionis*.

It is difficult to discover why his six theses intitled *Paradoxa*, were so called. The third alone seems to savour of paradox.

The analysis applied to the investigation of the *summum bonum* in the *De Finibus*, is worthy of the happiest efforts of the school of Aristotle.

His ethical works will hold, I think, a higher rank than his metaphysical, with the learned. In the handling of them, it is easy to perceive that he feels himself more *at home*.

The *De Officiis* may be read with more profit by the young student, than the *Ethics* of Aristotle; for it is written with more *heart* than

the production of the Stagirite. In Cicero's treatise, we recognize the philosophical, acute, and benevolent parent; in Aristotle's, simply the imposing dictates of the President of the Lyceum. The merit of originality however rests chiefly with the latter. The *De Officiis* is the noblest present ever made by a parent to a son.

In the *Tusculan Questions*, all his reasonings are brought to bear on the thesis discussed. They are never too finely spun, and frittered away.

The *De Oratore* may be styled one of the most perfect didactic compositions in any language. It remains, to use Middleton's words, a standing proof of Cicero's abilities.

The *Orator*, *Topica*, *De Claris Oratoribus*, *De Partitione Oratorid*, *De Inventione*, and *De Optimo Genere Oratorum*, may be considered as the satellites revolving round this splendid performance.

Of his Forensic and Senatorial labours, the *Pro Quinto Ligario* stands deservedly in the foremost rank. It is unrivalled not only for the fine vein of irony that pervades it, but for the finish of the sentences. It is a *reductio ad absurdum* throughout; and may at the same time

be considered as one of the most *gentlemanly* orations ever delivered. It differs in style from the generality, being not so diffuse.

For compressed, cutting, interrogatory invective, where is he so great as in the second Philippic?

The celebrity of this oration is apt to make us overlook the merit of the ninth; which contains a beautiful panegyric on Servius Sulpicius, who died on his embassy to Modena; and proves that the orator, on the verge of his grand climacteric, and in the fever of his invectives against Antonius, could find time to make an honourable and eloquent mention of his departed friend.

For force of invective, whereby he literally tears to pieces his antagonist, he is no where more striking than in the *In Pisonem*. Many sentences in this harangue border, it must be confessed, on a coarse vulgarity.

In the *Pro Cælio*, he appears to blend more sophistry with his arguments than in any other oration.

The *Post reditum ad Quirites* places his sense of gratitude to his country in a conspicuous point of view; and is perhaps the most

interesting of the harangues delivered on his return from exile.

The *Pro Lege Maniliâ* is a model of eulogizing eloquence; the *Pro Marcello*, on the authenticity of which some doubts have been started in Germany, is of secondary merit.

It is easy to perceive that in the delivery of the *Pro Quintio*, his powers were but imperfectly developed.

The *Pro Rege Deiotaro* is also of inferior order. It will however always possess great attraction; for it was *improvisatrised* in the presence of Cæsar.

His persuasive powers are seldom developed with more pathos and effect, than at the close of the *Pro Fonteio*.

The *Pro Archid* is indisputably the most pleasing of his harangues. The fine sentences with which it abounds, have been so often quoted, that they have a sort of oracular effect on our understandings.

If the *Pro Archid* from its agreeable and harmonious colouring, resembles a picture by Guido, or Albano; I would compare the *Pro Cluentio* to a Caravaggio, or Spagnoletto. The *Pro Milone* may probably be styled the most

brilliant, the *Pro Cluentio*, the sublimest of his defences.

Genus causæ says Asconius, *in omnibus Verrinarum libris admirabile*; and with reason; for it is certain that the Verrine invectives alone would have immortalized Cicero. He no where harrows up the soul with such a display of his powers, as in the *De Suppliciis*. Of these extraordinary efforts, I place in the second rank of excellence, the *De re frumentaria*. It is invaluable for the light that it throws on the ancient agricultural system of Sicily, for the profusion of metaphor and lively sallies; for the interest of the financial statements, and for the mode that he adopts of condemning the criminal by his own concessions. The *De Signis* may be safely defined the most elegant oration ever destined for a court of law; and it will not be hazardous to assert that it is the most entertaining of his harangues.

Some critics, more eminent for their patriotism, than equanimity, have ventured to exalt the impeachment of Hastings by Burke, above that of Verres by Cicero. Candour, I think, compels us to confess, that though attended by vastly more trouble, it was inferior to the

latter, in the object, in the originality, and in the personal risk incurred by the prosecutor. It makes however the nearest approach in importance, and grandeur, to the Verrine accusation, of any cause in modern times. It may be affirmed, without risk, that no legal case, of which we have notice, ever opened or closed with such magnificence, as the Verrine orations. Ye *jurisconsults*,

Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ !

The *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino* is of a higher order than the *Pro Roscio Comædo*. There is nothing finer in the first, than his excursion on the sanctity of friendship; and the evil consequences resulting from its violation, both to society and individuals. The last however will always be the most read, notwithstanding the dryness of the money-statements; for exclusive of the celebrity of the client, we dwell with pleasure on the interest which Tullius took in the protection of talent, in whatever station of life it might be found.

Of the consular harangues, I always preferred the first of the *Catilinarians* to either of the other three.

Of his epistolary works, the noblest letter of the kind probably ever penned, is that which he wrote to his brother, on his being appointed a præconsul in Asia. That also beginning *Mi frater, mi frater, mi frater*, written in a sad state of depression, is a fine specimen of pathetic expostulation. In his correspondence, he only, I think, completely unbosoms himself to his wife, brother, Tiro, and especially Atticus. The confidence with which he always addresses the last, is perhaps the reason why the *De Senectute*, and *De Amicitia*, have such powerful attractions; the sentiments always appearing to spring from the inmost recesses of the heart.

His poetical works, fragments of which are only transmitted to us, are of no further import, than as tending to shew, that had he concentrated the powers of his mind in poetical compositions, (which it is lucky for the world, he did not,) he would have shone a poet of no ordinary cast.

The panegyrics of Velleius Paterculus, Plinius, and Juvenal, naturally obtruded themselves on the memory, as I rambled through the *Amalthæa*; but it was a sheer pleasure to

gaze on the transparent and rapid volume of the Fibrenus, like the Ciceronian periods,

Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full,

and at the same time to dwell on the celebrated passage of Quintilian : *Nam mihi videtur Marcus Tullius cum se totum ad imitationem Græcorum contulisset, effinxisse vim Demosthenis, copiam Platonis, jucunditatem Isocratis. Nec verò quod in quoque optimum fuit studio consecutus est tantum, sed plurimas, vel potius omnes ex seipso virtutes extulit immortalis ingenii beatissimâ ubertate. Non enim pluvias (ut ait Pindarus) aquas colligit, sed vivo gurgite exundat, dono quodam providentiæ genitus, in quo totas vires suas eloquentia experiretur. Num quis docere diligentius, movere vehementius potest? Cui tanta unquam jucunditas affluit? Ut ipsa illa quæ extorquet, impetrare eum credas, et cum transversum vi sud judicem ferat, tamen ille non rapi videatur, sed sequi. Jam in omnibus, quæ dicit, tanta auctoritas inest, ut dissentire pudeat, nec advocati studium, sed testis aut judicis afferat fidem. Cum interim hæc omnia, quæ vix singula quisquam intentissimâ curâ consequi potest, fluunt illaborata, et illa, quæ nihil pulchrius*

chrius auditu est, oratio præ se fert tamen felicissimam facilitatem. Quare non immeritò ab hominibus ætatis suæ regnare in judiciis dictus est : apud posteros verò id consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis, sed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur. Hunc igitur spectemus : hoc propositum sit nobis exemplum ; ille se profecisse sciatur cui Cicero valdè placebit (1).

(1) Marcus Tullius, by taking the Grecian orators as his models, appears to me to have attained the vehemence of Demosthenes, the richness of Plato, and the suavity of Isocrates. He seems to have expressed by his industry, not only the characteristic excellence of each, but a style distinctively his own, through the force and exuberance of his immortal genius. He does not collect water drop by drop, to use an expression of Pindar, but rolls along a rapid torrent ; born as it were, by a special grace of heaven, in whom eloquence was destined to concentrate all her powers. What orator ever instructed with more effect, or was so great a master of the passions ? Who ever equalled him in harmonious fluency of language ? You may imagine him already obtaining, what he endeavours to procure by dint of persuasion ; and the auditor, however inclined to differ from him, seems not to be hurried along by the power of his arguments, but rather to follow in quiet acquiescence. Such weight is there in all that he says, that we feel ashamed to withhold our assent ; and his assertions savour rather of the authority of the eye-witness, or judge, than of the zeal of the advocate. These combined excellencies, which separately taken, scarcely any one else can attain with the most diligent application, flow forth with-

Leaving the Amalthea, so pregnant with interesting recollections, we crossed the ferry of the Garigliano, opposite the Dominican convent, and after passing through vines ripening fast, and bending with purple clusters, presently reached the ruins of a bridge, called in the country, time immemorial, *il ponte di Cicerone*. (See the topographical sketches.) The people believe that it was built by the orator; I suspect rather by his father; for we read in the second book *De Legibus* : *vides villam latius ædificatam patris nostri studio, qui cùm esset infirmâ valetudine, hic ferè ætatem egit in literis; sed hoc ipso in loco cùm avus viveret, et antiquo mœre parva esset villa, ut illa Curiana in Sabinis, me scito esse natum*. The bridge is evidently a Roman work, almost concealed by

out labour; and that oratory, than which nothing can be heard more beautiful, carries along with it the happiest facility. He was not then styled without reason, by his contemporaries, the sovereign of the tribunals; and with posterity, he has obtained such celebrity, that in pronouncing the word *Cicero*, we think of eloquence itself, rather than of the individual. Him then let us look up to; let him be proposed as our best model; and let that student be assured that his toils have not been fruitless, whom Cicero shall inspire with a high delight.

brambles and aquatic herbs, and of remote antiquity; it is peculiar in being thrown obliquely over the river, forming on either bank a very acute and obtuse angle. It consisted of three arches, one of which alone remains. (*See Frontispiece, Fig. 10.*)

The fourth, fifth, and sixth books *De Legibus* are wanting; but Macrobius has preserved a fragment of the fifth, which introduces Atticus thus speaking: *Visne, quoniam sol paullum à meridie jam deflexus videtur, neque nondum satis ab his arboribus opacatur, descendamus ad Lirim, eaque quæ restant, in illis alnorum umbraculis prosequamur?* (1)

The Liris, shaded still by poplars, and wide spreading oaks, is now called *il Garigliano*; it rises near the Fucine lake, from a mountain called the Rock of Cappadocia. Passing by Sora, it receives the Fibrenus; lower down, the Tàleno; and near the ancient *Fregellæ*, the *Melphes*. Pursuing its course through a well cultivated country, it waters the territory of Sessa, (*Setia* renowned for its grape,) washes the ruins of *Minturnæ*, celebrated for the catastro-

(1) Macrob. Saturnal. VI.

phe of Marius, and of which a considerable aqueduct still crosses the road, that leads from Gaeta to Capua. After desolating the neighbouring country with marsh miasma during the autumnal heats, it disembogues in silence into the Tyrrhene sea. According to Strabo, it was more anciently called *Clanlus*. The water is of a bright turquoise colour, owing to its sulphureous quality, alluded to by Plinius, and Silius Italicus. The epithet *taciturnus* applied to this stream by Horace (1), can only be understood of the latter part of its course. No rivers in Italy are so noisy as the Liris about Arpino. For the space of a mile and a half, after receiving the Fibrenus, it forms no less than six pleasing falls, which vary in height from about three, to twenty feet. Close to the village of Isola, the stream divides; to the left, it forms a perpendicular fall of eighty feet; while to the right, the main body of the river is precipitated

(1) ——— *rura quæ Liris quietâ*
Mordet aquâ taciturnus amnis.

In describing the country about Cicero's villa, we should read :

————— *rura quæ Liris sonorâ*
Mordet aquâ violentus amnis.

down a very broken inclined plane, of no less than five hundred feet; presenting a magnificent union of cataract and cascade, in my opinion more striking than the Rheinfall at Schaffhausen. The fall of the Velino at Terni, can alone be compared with it; and no doubt it would be as often visited, were it not in the heart of the Apennines.

Following the course of Atticus by the poplars which shade the Garigliano, we took the lesser falls in succession, one of which glides without foam, in the manner that Ruysdael paints his cascades; a second forms a complete horse-shoe fall; and another shoots in a very oblique direction across the river. We reached the verge of the great cataract; *ces eaux qui tombent, se relèvent, jaillissent, se détournent, s'amoncèlent, s'échappent, se précipitent, s'abyment*, as some French traveller happily portrays a cataract. No fall in Swisserland or Italy is so easily approachable as this; and nothing hinders you from commanding it in its whole extent. We saw it by the full blaze of the mid-day sun; and the splendour of the foam affected our eyes with sensible pain. The depth of the Liris above the falls, varies from about twenty

to twenty-five feet. The sky had been hitherto serene, and the sun very powerful; but some light clouds hovering above Sora, discharged about noon, a few heat-drops, while thunder muttered from the Apennines :

*Partibus intonuit cœli pater ipse sinistris ,
Cæsaris et clarum firmavit Jupiter omen (1) ;*

or to speak in plain prose, the thunder rather reminded us of *Dicesaris* and his banditti, than the evils of wet clothes; and after visiting a second time, the great falls of the Liris, we bade a final farewell to the Amalthea, and *conspicuæ felicitatis Arpinum*; not without being convinced that very few things in Italy can impress the traveller with such pleasing recollections, as the remembrance of Tullius at the place of his birth.

About a mile from the Arpine villa, there is a paper-manufactory, where we found to our surprise, a native of Berkshire, who acted as the superintendant. He presented us with a roll of his *Arpinæ chartæ*, not inscribed indeed with the *Pro Archid*, or the *Pro Regibus Alexandrino, et Deiotaro*, but blank as Arpino itself

(1) Cicer. Fragment. Marii.

would prove, without the remembrance of its genius. The picture that he gave of the state of the country was deplorable; for scarcely a day had elapsed the preceding year, without a robbery, which was generally accompanied by assassination. The attacks were most frequent between Isola and Sora. This is explained by considering the situation of Arpino and its environs; which being on the confines of the two states, makes its neighbourhood a convenient asylum for ruffians, who as they may be pursued in one or other territory, abscond in the skirts of either.

These circumstances suggested a *Divinatio* on the most adviseable way of returning to Rome, and escaping the *tusks* of that *verres* of the Apennines, *Dicesaris*. Sometimes we thought of passing by the *Reatine Tempe* (1). Further delay was dangerous; and it was high time to withdraw *De Finibus Arpinatium*; the *Topica* of which were so doubtful and uncleared; for since *Dicesaris*, like his great prototype, sat the

(1) *Reatini me ad sua Tempe invitarunt*, says the orator, invited by the inhabitants to plead their cause against the *Interamnates*.

De Legibus at defiance, and consequently the *De Officiis*, an attack in the woods was by no means a *Paradoxon*. The fatigue and heat too made it necessary to take measures *De ægritudine leniendâ*; which if postponed might have terminated in the *De morte contemnendâ*.

The sum total of these considerations accelerated our departure; and we resolved on striking across the country by a bye-road through the woods to Frusinone, a town distant from Arpino about twenty miles.

This also is a most ancient city of the *Volsci*, *ferocior ad rebellandum quàm ad bellandum gens*, as they are described by Livius. The obstinacy with which they resisted Rome, and their activity in fomenting the revolt of the *Hernici*, cost them dear, as we learn from the same author : *Frusinates tertiâ parte agri dam-nati, quòd Hernicos ab iis sollicitatos compertum; capitaque conjurationis virgis cæsi, securi percussi*. It was long before they obtained the good will of the capital; for they first submitted to a præfecture, while the more favoured cities enjoyed the privileges of a *municipium*. We passed two or three monumental crosses, where travellers had forfeited their lives to banditti;

and we saw to the left, on a lofty steep, *Bauco*, supposed to be on the site of the *Bovillan* or *Laterian* villa of Quintus Cicero (1). *Saranno ammazzati* were the words with which some passengers greeted us, as we mounted the hill on which Frusinone stands :

——— *duris quæ rupibus hæret*

Bellator Frusino.

SIL. ITAL.

The town commands an extensive plain, surrounded on all sides by bold promontories of Apennines.

The same listlessness, the same filth, the same indifference in realizing the few joys that life affords, is as conspicuous at Frusinone, as at Veroli, and Alatri. South of the town, there is a terrace laid out in walks, and adorned with a few ancient statues of indifferent workmanship. There are also inscriptions, commemorating the votive offerings of some legiary officers. None are worth recording. But in a private house the following, containing poetry not destitute of pathos, may deserve attention :

(1) His brother tells us that some of his improvements in the Laterian villa, offended the Arpinates : *Arpinatium incredibilis est fremitus de Laterio*. Ad Att. IV. ep. 7.

D. M. S.

N. CLODIO. N. F. AN. SABINIANO.

FILIO. PISSIMO. N. CLODIUS. SABINUS.

ET. FLAVIA. HESPERIS. PARENTES.

*Omne susceptus primo, votisque parentum,
 Cum jam bis senos explēsset floridus annos,
 Quinque etiam menses, numero superante dierum,
 Viveret innocuus, blandæ pietate colendus,
 Occidit — heu nimium celeres in funere Parcæ
 Vitali trepidos nato privare parentes
 Audetis, mæstosque gravi circumdare luctu !*

The landscape which this terrace commands, is equal perhaps to that in the environs of Arpino. No wonder that the great satirist, when he exhorts his countrymen to quit the stench and corruption of the Suburra, exclaims :

*Si potes avelli Circensibus, optima Soræ,
 Aut Fabrateriæ domus, aut Frusinone paratur,
 Quanti nunc tenebras unum conducis in annum.*

Cicero had a farm in the environs, as we discover from two passages in the Letters to Atticus : *Accepi ab Isidoro literas, et postea datas binas; ex proximis cognovi prædia non venisse; videbis igitur ut sustentetur partim de Frusinati De fundo Frusinati redimendo*

jampridem intellexisti voluntatem meam (1). We may conclude that the ancient city was populous; for an old chronicle which records the donation of lands to the monastery of *Casamari*, describes them as being *penes amphitheatrum Frusinonis* (2). Frusinone has given two pontiffs to the chair of St. Peter; it is also the birth-place of my friend Ludovico Angeloni; whose Life of Guido d'Arezzo, the inventor of musical notes, declares him an accomplished scholar; his *Ragionamenti d'Italia*, a patriot luminous, and firm.

The dark scowls of several individuals wrapped in their brown capotes, who had the appearance of being scouts in the service of *Dicæsar*, made us prefer the pestilential *Circus* and *Suburra*, even the *Cloaca maxima* itself, to the purer air of Frusinone, in spite of Juvenal; and taking advantage of a fine moonlight, we followed the course of Hannibal in a coach and four to the capital, distant fifty-six miles. Titus Livius tells us that the Carthaginian general treated this tract of country with seve-

(1) Ad Att. XI. epp. 4. 13.

(2) De Matteis Storia di Frusinone.

rity, because the inhabitants had cut away the bridges : *Hannibal infestius perpopulato agro Fregellano, propter incisos pontes, per Frusinate, Ferentinatem, et Anagninum agrum, in Labicanum venit* (1). At break of day, we were under Anagni, the ancient *Anagnia*, built on an eminence. Here there are some remains of a theatre. The inhabitants of this town came down from their steep to salute Marcus Antonius, as we learn from the second Philippic, and were severely handled in consequence by the orator : *Stultè Aquinates : sed tamen in viâ habitabant. Quid Anagnini ? qui cùm essent devii, descenderant, ut istum, tanquam si esset consul, salutarent. Incredibile dictu ; tamen inter omnes constabat neminem esse resalutatum ; præsertim cùm duos Anagninos haberet secum, Mustelam et Laconem, quorum alter gladiatorum est princeps, alter poculorum.* Anagni was also the scene of a singular occurrence in the middle ages. A. D. 1297. Boniface VIII. being at war with the Colonnas, excommunicated that family together with Philip-le-bel, their ally, who convoked a council at Paris, at which one No-

(1) Liv. XXVI. c. 6.

guaret proposed to seize the person of the pontiff. He was charged with the execution of the project, and soon appeared under the walls of Anagni, with an armed force. Nogualet, aided by the Colonnas, surprised the town; and Sciara Colonna, having taken the pope prisoner, gave him a slap on the face, which so affected the pontiff, that he died a prey to irritation and vexation.

We had also Segni, the ancient *Segnia*, on an eminence to the left. It is mentioned in the *Captives* of Plautus. Here Tarquinius Superbus erected a fortress to keep the Volscians in check; here too according to Sickler, are the remains of an ancient temple dedicated to Jupiter *Asturius*, and some of those gigantic walls, called by some Pelagic, by others, Cyclopian; but probably raised by the Italian Aborigenes.

The cold of the autumnal nights in the defiles of the Apennines, contrasted with the heat of the day, is very trying to travellers; but scarcely had the sun risen an hour, than we regretted the past freshness of the night; and on reaching Valmontone to breakfast, the air was filled with a stirring buzz of the insect tribe, put in motion by the encreasing heat;

the varieties were numerous, and brilliant. The coffee-house in the Piazza, filthier than many outhouses in England, for lumber or poultry, furnished us with a beverage like the scourgings of the coffee-pot in France, which was tempered only by rancid goat's milk; the people being so stupid and idle, as not to take advantage of their cows feeding on as fragrant pasture as any in the world, among the vallies of the Apennines.

Three miles further we reached Lugnano, the ancient *Longianum*, and the scene of a sanguinary battle won by the consul Lucretius over the united forces of the *Æqui*, and *Volsci*, in which, according to Livius, upwards of thirteen thousand of the latter were cut to pieces.

We had now cleared the defiles of the Apennines, and as we flattered ourselves, the clutches of *Dicesaris*; and consequently enjoyed with fuller hearts, the breezes which fanned *Præneste* on our right,

Quodcunque et gelido prominet Algido,

on our left. The woods which surround the temple of the Algidensian Diana, the substructions of which are still visible, are much in-

fested with banditti. The lines of Statius then are not inapplicable to these marauders :

*Hos Præneſte ſacrum, nemus hos glaciale Dianæ,
Algidus aut horrens, aut Tuſcula protegit umbra.*

As we ſtopped to bait the horſes under *Algidum*, I could not help conſtrasting the *actual* appearance of the village, with what it muſt have exhibited formerly. The prieſteſſes and virgins moving in proceſſion to venerate that modification of power developed by the Deity in the woods and mountains, to which were added the beautiful attributes of chaſtity, and all the paraphernalia of the chace, one of the healthieſt and moſt pleaſing recreations of man — the gates of the temple of the Algidenſian goddeſs flung open, and diſplaying a Grecian ſtatue, not to be adored itſelf, as ſome canting and ſelf-intereſted hypocrites would induce us to believe, but merely expoſed as a viſible type of the above attributes; which by a greater extension, were afterwards identified with the ſilver orb of night, not to be contemplated without inſpiring ideas of purity; and thus gradually loſt in the unknown Firſt Cauſe. The

chorusses of healthy and white-clad virgins making the woods resound with the hymn :

Dianam teneræ dicite virgines,

or

Montium custos, nemorumque virgo,

Quæ laborantes utero puellas

Ter vocata audis, adimisque leto,

Diva triformis !

The *actual* appearance of the village consisted in three or four priests yelling, rather than chanting service before a Madonna crowned with a bit of tin, and attired as if by the vulgar *lavandaja* of Trastevere; some ten or dozen paupers lousing themselves on the steps of a plaistered church, a happy production of one of the Borrominis of the country, and exhaling an odour compounded of putrefaction of carcases, and adulterated frankincense; the building itself dedicated to some *Vaticani montis imago*, or to speak synonymously, some saint, whose hooded effigy, or *os sacrum* it was meritorious to kiss. I considered, and compared.

Nothing was wanting to complete the picture, but a calvinistic missionary, or sour presbyterian, to menace the whole village with eternal tortures.

Ahi

*Ahi serva Italia, di dolore ostello;
Nave senza nocchiero in tempesta,
Non donna di provincie, ma bordello !* (1)

Palestrina, situated like Tivoli, on a declivity, occupies the site of the ancient temple of Fortune at *Præneste*. It was more magnificent than all the other fanes dedicated to that goddess, not excepting the celebrated one at Antium. Prusias, king of Bithynia, came there to sacrifice in person; and the philosopher Carneades, on his return from Rome to Greece, observed that he never witnessed a Fortune more fortunate than the *Prænestine*. Numerous authors speak of the *sortes Prænestinae*, as much consulted by the *Lesbiæ* and *Lydiæ* of Rome, as the *Gretna-green* blacksmith by those of England. Pyrrhus pitched his camp under the walls, and Hannibal reconnoitred Rome from the heights. Like Tibur, it was much frequented by the opulent Romans during the summer heats; and we did not forget that Horace read over his Homer at *Præneste* (2). Antium,

(1) Dante.

(2) *Trojani belli scriptorem, maxime Lolli,
Dum tu declamas Romæ, Præneste relegi.*

Ep. ad Lollium.

Ostia, and Præneste offer the richest mines of sculpture to antiquaries out of the capital.

But the environs of Palestrina are memorable, as having been the scene of that desperate battle between Sylla and the younger Marius, consul; of which so interesting an account has been transmitted to us by Appian. Political disturbances in modern times, however dreadful, cannot be put in competition with the horrors of *Syllana illa tempora*, as Cicero emphatically styles them. One of the most striking incidents in the history of the latter period of the republic, is the message which Sylla sent to the senate, complaining of the ill treatment which he had experienced from the government, when all Rome turned pale at the perusal. They recollected that it was written by the man, who lined the road from Terracina to Capua with gibbets. We cannot contemplate Sylla with the least satisfaction; for he was unrelenting at a period, when he might have pardoned his enemies without much personal hazard. He had none of the civil grandeur of Julius and Augustus, to compensate for his military ferocity. If, after having laid the corrupt republic at his feet, he had shewn clemency, corrected ex-

isting abuses, diminished the military power, then retired, as he did, to private life, he would have left one of the most brilliant and singular names recorded in all history.

After all, we are apt to admire these same Romans too much. Their influence on the destinies of nations, and on their literature, is, and always will be very considerable; but in our estimation of several of their conspicuous characters, we do not take sufficient care to discriminate, and sift their principle of action; which will generally be found to be flagrantly unjust. Any fifty years of the Venetian history are worth all the Roman annals in interest; for the mind soon becomes surfeited with the acts of a nation that adopted nothing but military aggression for its principle of action. It may be questioned whether Rome produced such interesting heroes as the Venetian admiral Carlo Zeno; Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan; Louis IX. and Henry IV. of France; Alfonso the Great, and Gonsalvo of Spain; or the Black Prince of England.

We presently had the village of Colonna on an eminence to our left, the ancient *Labicum*. It was famous for its grapes, which Capitolinus

tells us Caracalla turned to good account : *centum Persica campana, et melones Ostienses decem, et uvam Labicanam pondo viginti*, did the self-denying emperor devour at one breakfast. Here Julius Cæsar had a villa, where about half a year before his death, he made his will, as we learn from Suetonius : *postulante ergo L. Pisone, testamentum ejus aperitur, recitaturque in Antonii domo, quod Id. Septembribus proximis, in Labicano suo fecerat*. Two miles or a little more beyond, we passed the site of the villa of M. Porcius Cato ; and the superincumbent hill retains the name of *Monte Porzio*. There are also the *Prati Porzii*. The fine lines of Lucan, in which he is described as letting his hair grow at the breaking out of the civil war, shot across my mind :

*Ille nec horrificam sancto dimovit ab ore
Cæsariem, duroque admisit gaudia vultu,
Ut primum tolli feralia viderat arma,
Intonsos rigidam in frontem descendere canos
Passus erat, mæstamque genis increscere barbam.*

To our right was the extinct volcano, now a lake three miles in circuit, near which stood the ancient *Gabiî*, the discovery of which is due to Gavin Hamilton ; and the remains of a

temple of Juno, a theatre, and forum, together with numerous fragments which enrich the Borghese cabinet, have been the fruit of his researches.

The Campagna was now fully developed to our view; and three successive ranges of aqueducts which transported the *Felice*, *Alexandrine*, and *Virginal* waters to the capital, stretched their dark arcades in broken lines along the landscape, which harmonized with the fallen grandeur of the *Niobe of nations*. The walls of the city, in which it is easy to observe at least three distinct dates, presented soon their venerable curtains; and after passing the church, wherein the ashes of Helena, the mother of Constantine repose, we reached the capital by the *via Labicana*, after an interesting, but perilous circuit of one hundred and eighty miles.





Profile of the statue at La Ruffinella.

ON THE DIFFERENT OPINIONS
WHICH HAVE BEEN FORMED OF CICERO.

THAT Cicero was great in the genuine acceptation of the word, none, I believe, save Dio Cassius, have ventured to question.

Considerable diversity of opinion has nevertheless always subsisted as to the degree of applause which is his due.

Most critics join in condemning his political conduct; at least that part of it which he observed with respect to the parties of Cæsar and Pompeius; some even have ventured to censure his eloquence; but those who have presumed to question his oratorical powers, are very few when compared with the arraigners of his political career.

Of his detractors, Dio Cassius stands in the first rank; but the spleen with which he attacks the character of the orator, will fail to have weight with those who reflect that Dio flourished under Alexander Severus, an emperor who has been cited by Machiavelli as the most

adroit in establishing his power by what the French call *les menées sourdes*. The degree of credit therefore which we can attach to Dio, when he handles the character of any great assertor of liberty, may be tantamount to what we should bestow on any of the hirelings of France, who wrote what they call history, during the usurpation of Napoleon. *Ob metum falsi*. The vulgarity of his mind is conspicuous in the sentence quoted by Middleton : « *Cicero's father was a fuller, who earned his subsistence by pruning other people's vines and olives ; he was born and bred among the scourings of old clothes , and the filth of dunghills ; he was master of no one liberal science ; neither did he ever do any thing worthy a great man, or an orator ; he prostituted his wife , trained up his son in drunkenness , committed incest with his own daughter , and adultery with Cerellia , whom , as Middleton remarks, he acknowledges at the same time to have been seventy years old.* » A testimony like the above can surely have no weight (1).

(1) *Dione in ciò che appartiene alla fedeltà, molti in lui la vorrebbon maggiore ; ed oltre i prodigj ch'egli cieca-*

Plutarch; whose known partiality to the Greeks, renders what he says in favour of the Romans more valuable, must nevertheless be read with caution. He appears to hurry over the leading features of Cicero's career, and dwells at large on repartees, or anecdotes of secondary import, with the fear, we should almost surmise, of the Roman proving superior to his Athenian rival. It is pretty obvious that the biographer of Chæronea was not partial to Cicero (1).

Of his cotemporaries, who generally entertained a high opinion of him, Lentulus in one of his despatches from Asia says : *divina tuamens.*

Brutus and Calvus thought his eloquence too redundant and Asiatic. But the first thought

mente adotta, le accuse con cui egli ha cercato di oscurar la fama di Cicerone, di Cassio, e di altri avuti fra' Romani in grandissima stima, pare che cel dimostrino o bugiardo calunniatore, o scrittore non bene informato, observes the learned Tiraboschi.

(1) *On peut reprocher à Plutarque de ne s'être pas assez étendu sur le temps le plus brillant de la vie de Cicéron, qui joua pendant quelque temps le premier rôle, et qui était la seule ressource de la République. Mém. de l'Acad. des Ins. Tom. VII.*

highly of him in other respects, and for a stoic, confers a high elogium in one of his letters to Atticus : *omnia fecisse Ciceronem optimo animo scio*; and in another to the orator, speaking of the Philippics : *nescio animi an ingenii tui laus major in his libellis contineatur* (1).

Cassius, whose testimony is of high value, confers in seven words, a high panegyric : *est autem tua toga omnium armis felicior* (2).

Curio, who figures in his correspondence, called his consulate an Apotheosis. Julius Cæsar said that Cicero effected more by his eloquence than all the other Romans by force of arms; Hortensius, that his sovereign talent lay in touching the heart; Aufidius Bassus, that his eloquence was so rare that he seemed expressly born to be the saviour of his country : *vir natus ad reipublicæ salutem, quæ diù defensa et administrata, in senectute demùm è manibus ejus elabitur* (3).

(1) Famil. XIV. ep. 2. Brut. ad Att. ep. 17. and Brut. ad Cic. ep. 5.

(2) Famil. XII. ep. 13.

(3) Auf. Bas. ap. Senec. Suas. VI.

Cremutius Cordus an historian of Rome, quoted by Seneca, said speaking of Cicero : *vides credendam ejus non solùm magnitudinem virtutum, sed etiam multitudinem conspiciendam.*

Asinius Pollio, the same, I believe, who figures in one of Virgil's eclogues, has left a testimony respecting Cicero, which has been highly praised by Seneca : *Hujus ergo viri tot tantisque operibus mansuris in omne ævum, prædicare de ingenio atque industriâ supervacuum est. Ei quidem facies decora ad senectutem, prosperaque permansit valetudo ; tum pax diutina, cujus instructus erat artibus, contigit. Namque à priscâ severitate judicis exacti maximorum noxiorum multitudo provenit, quos obstrictos patrocinio incolumes plerosque habebat. Jam felicissima consulatus ei sors petendi, et gerendi magna munera, deûm consilio, industriâque ; utinam moderatiùs secundas res, et fortiùs adversas ferre potuisset ! Namque utræque cùm venerant ei, mutari eas non posse rebatur. Inde sunt invidiæ, tempestates coortæ graves in eum, certiorque inimicis aggrediendi fiducia ; majore enim simultates appetebat animo, quàm gerebat. Sed quando mortalium nulla virtus perfecta contigit, quæ major pars vitæ atque ingenii stetit,*

ed judicandum de homine est. Atque ego ne miserandi quidem exitus eum fuisse judicarem, nisi ipse tam miseram mortem putasset.

Cornelius Nepos styled him *vir prudentiæ diviniæ*. Sallust, from his well-known hatred of the orator, seems to speak as little as possible of him in the *Bellum Catilinarium*.

Titus Livius expresses himself respecting Cicero with his usual dignity; though he does not confer much of a panegyric: *vixit tres et sexaginta annos, ut si vis afuisset, ne immatura quidem mors videri possit; ingenium et operibus et præmiis operum felix: ipse fortunæ diu prosperæ, et in longo tenore felicitatis, magnis interim ictus vulneribus, ruinâ partium pro quibus steterat, filiæ morte, exitu tam tristi atque acerbo, omnium adversorum, nihil ut viro dignum erat tulit, præter mortem, quæ verè æstimanti minùs indigna videri potuit, quod à victore inimico nil crudelius passurus erat, quod ejusdem fortunæ compos ipse fecisset. Si quis tamen virtutibus vilia pensârit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, et in cujus laudes sequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit (1).*

(1) Liv. ap. Senec. Suas.

The high opinion which Augustus entertained, burst forth in spite of himself, when he saw the works of the orator in the hands of his grandson.

The testimonies of Plinius, Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, Catullus, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Juvenal, Cornelius Severus, St. Jerom, Aurelius Victor, and Cassiodorus, convey tributes of unmixed applause to Cicero.

Quintilian calls him *cœlestis vir*.

The celebrated simile of Longinus illustrative of the different character of the eloquence of Cicero and Demosthenes, makes us regret that he did not pursue the parallel further.

Aulus Gellius, after making remarks on the rhetorical powers of the principal Roman orators, shews that perfection in the art was reserved for Cicero (1).

Lactantius, the Christian Cicero, as he is called, had evidently a high idea of his Pagan prototype : *non tantùm perfectus orator, sed philosophus fuit* (2).

Arnobius proves his sentiments in his reply to those who proposed burning the works of the

(1) Noct. Att. X. c. 3.

(2) De fals. Relig.

orator, because they thought them obstacles to the progress of philosophy : *intercipere scripta et publicatam velle submergere lectionem, non est deos defendere, sed veritatis testimonium timere.*

Saint Augustine appears to have admired his eloquence, but not the complexion of his mind : *ejus linguam ferè omnes mirantur, pectus non ita* (1).

Petrarch was not less struck with the cast of his mind, than with the grandeur of his eloquence : *interdum non Paganum philosophum, sed apostolum loqui putes*, he says in one of his letters ; and in his Triumph of Fame :

*Ed uno al cui passar l'erba fioriva ,
Questo è quel Marco Tullio in cui si mostra
Chiaro quanto eloquenza, e frutti, e fiori ,
Questi son gli occhi della lingua nostra.*

Sebastiano Corrado, an Italian critic, in his dialogue intitled *Quæstura*, which is an inquiry into the life and character of Cicero, vindicates him with warmth from the aspersions cast upon him by Plutarch, and Dio. He concludes his remarks with these words : *non omnibus ego,*

(1) Aug. Confes. III.

sed singulis ita præfero, ut audeam penè dicere à condito orbe neminem fuisse, quem prorsus cum Cicerone conferre possumus.

In the Magliabecchi library at Florence, I fell in with a small publication, printed at Venice in the sixteenth century, intitled *Cicero relegatus et Cicero revocatus*. It consists of a dialogue held by three Venetian gentlemen at Belinzona, on the demerits and merits of the orator. The first part, after collecting all the abuse that can be mustered against him, closes with a decree to banish him, and fine those who shall study his works; the second collects panegyrics from all quarters, and the dialogue closes with rescinding the decree of his banishment, and bearing his statue in triumph.

The opinion of Erasmus is singular. In the early part of his life he inveighed against Cicero; but in maturer age, he changed his sentiments, and entertained an opinion of him bordering on idolatry: *me legentem sic afficere solet M. Tullius, præsertim ubi de benè vivendo disserit, ut dubitare non possum, quin illud pectus unde ista prodierint, aliqua divinitas occuparit* (1).

(1) Ep. ad Ulatt.

It appears that in the sixteenth century, a certain rage of admiration for Cicero seized many of the distinguished men of the court of Leo X. at the head of whom were Buonamico and Bembo. Erasmus undertook to write down this enthusiasm, which it must be acknowledged was carried to excess. He engaged Budæus in the controversy. Erasmus was anathematized by the Ciceronians, for having affirmed at the age of twenty, that a perusal of Cicero's works annoyed him, and that St. Jerom wrote better Latin. Julius Cæsar Scaliger disgraced himself in the contest, by heaping upon Erasmus the most opprobrious epithets; which were repeated by one Dolet, a Frenchman, who was burnt alive at Paris, convicted of irreligion, A. D. 1546. The dispute made so much noise in the literary world, that a history of the *civil war* between the party of Erasmus and the Ciceronians was written by a learned man of the day, but never published. This literary affray terminated as it ought, by confining the public admiration for the orator within reasonable bounds. Julius Cæsar Scaliger conveys a warm panegyric in his *Philippic* against Erasmus: *ejus scripta sunt ejusmodi, ut in ipsis illius etiamnum*

mens spiret, atque is genius, qui arcanam quandam efferrat energiam.

Joseph Scaliger had a high opinion of his eloquence, but a poor one of his philosophical works : *libros omnes philosophicos Ciceronis nihil facio; nihil enim in iis est, quod doceat, demonstret, et cogat, nihil Aristotelicum.*

Cardinal Du Perron said : *ily a plus en deux pages de Cicéron, qu'en dix de Sénèque; il y a plus en une épître de Cicéron, qu'en dix de Pline. La république de Rome n'a rien d'égal à elle, que l'éloquence de Cicéron* (1).

But of all the moderns, Conyers Middleton has done Cicero the fullest justice. Though perhaps he may sometimes be taxed with being too enthusiastic in his favour. He usually endeavours to exalt the orator at the expense of Brutus, Cassius, and others, in matters too of inferior importance, and in cases wherein from the sudden and rapid phases which political affairs then assumed, we may presume that Cicero was as often in the wrong as the others. The sincere and philosophical Atticus is not spared; he is in general too cold in his friend-

(1) Scaligerona et Perroniana.

ship for Middleton; who would have him speed post-haste from Attica to Arpinum, on the reception of any querulous letter. In spite of these few blemishes, his work remains a standard specimen of biography, and perhaps the most perfect, that the English language can shew.

It may be wished that he had devoted another section to an analysis of the orator's works. We can only conclude that of such volume was the heart, of such force and exuberance was the genius of Cicero, that Middleton, though a very superior man, had neither energy nor time sufficient for the undertaking.

It is to be regretted that the philosophical Bayle did not handle the life of Tullius. In one of his notes to the article *Tullia*, he seems to think that the world has been deprived of the finest of the orator's works. The high opinion which that eminent critic entertains of Cicero, is one of the very few points in which he is not sceptical.

Fénélon, in his Dialogue on Eloquence, prefers with judgment the later to the earlier orations; and though he bestows the palm of superiority on Demosthenes, he withholds not a warm encomium from his rival; in which

opinion D'Auger, the French translator of Demosthenes, seems to coincide.

Rapin, in the best parallel that has been written between the Athenian and Roman orators, is of opinion that the eloquence of Cicero is better adapted to make an impression on the minds of the populace, than that of Demosthenes.

The Abbé D'Olivet was so enthusiastic in his admiration of Cicero, that he not only devoted the greater part of his life to commenting his works, but felt irritated if any body urged any thing against his favourite author.

Quite the reverse Montesquieu; who in his parallel between Cato and Cicero, says that virtue in the latter, was merely an accessory; that with a dazzling genius, he possessed a common mind; that he was incapable of filling the first station in the republic, during the rage of a civil war; that he only wished its salvation, to procure applause for himself; seeing things always *à travers de cent petites passions* (1).

(1) Grandeur et Décad. des Romains. He found it easy to write this in his snug retreat at Bordeaux. What sort of pas-

Blair in his valuable Lectures, analyses his oratory with a judicious and temperate admiration; but agrees with Fénélon in preferring Demosthenes even as a popular orator.

We may infer, I think, from the works of Laharpe, certainly one of the first critics of the last century, that he preferred Cicero upon the whole to Demosthenes as an orator.

D'Azara, late Spanish ambassador at Paris, not only translated Middleton into his own masculine dialect, but embellished his production with engravings from valuable busts and medals; he added moreover interesting annotations, which declare a mind almost immersed in the contemplation of the various excellencies of Cicero.

Voltaire was lavish of his admiration; and entertained even a high opinion of his poetical talents : *Y a-t-il rien de plus beau que les vers, qui nous sont restés de son pcême sur Marius ?*

sions would he have mustered before the Verres, the Pisos, the Catilines, the Antonii?—*Grand Président, tu aurais été écrasé.*—He seems however to make a sort of *amende honorable* for the above assertion in his *Pensées Diverses*; in which he says : *Cicéron selon moi, est un des plus grands esprits qui aient jamais été; l'ame toujours belle, lorsqu'elle n'était pas faible.*

Rousseau thought him nothing but a de-claimer. His opinion however, one way or the other, is not of much import; for though a man of ardent imagination, and fine wit, it may be questioned whether he knew how to appreciate duly that steadiness of principle, necessary for the formation of a great statesman and lawyer.

Burke, in more than one of his orations, bursts forth with encomiums strongly pronounced.

Not so Fox; whose opinion as to his character, though not as to his eloquence, conveys but a cautious and cold approbation; whether from thinking that he already enjoyed his full share of celebrity; whether from disgust at certain passages in his works, betraying self-conceit; whether from an habitual scepticism on historical topics in general, uncertain (1).

(1) The political career of Fox corresponded in the essentials with the Roman orator's. Great'y however as England is indebted to his noble exertions, it is incontestable that he was neither so great an orator, neither did he move in so arduous a sphere, neither had he the legal attainments, or so much philosophical grandeur as Cicero; neither did he purchase his fame with so much suffering or personal hazard. In one point, and in one alone, he was superior to Cicero; and that was in rarely alluding to himself, and when he did, in doing it with modesty.

Of all those, who have discussed the political affairs of Rome, Hook, in his History, has done more to detract from Cicero's merit than any other. Had he not been a learned man, his remarks would be consigned to oblivion. Ingenious as many of his notes are, a fixed determination to lower Tullius in the public estimation is but too apparent. It is amusing to trace the pains which he takes to harpoon him with his spleen, and cut him up piece-meal for the market. The fish however that he encounters is too great; the hook has little, or no hold.

The orator also appears to be no great favourite with Melmoth; to whom we are indebted for an elegant version of the *Epistolæ Familiares*. He dwells with apparent satisfaction on contradictory passages; and draws therefrom positive conclusions prejudicial to the orator, without making due allowances for the possibility of the loss of any intermediate letters; for the rapid alterations to which public affairs were subjected, from the extraordinary characters of Cæsar and Pompeius; which probably made Cicero appear one day hasty or weak, while the next might prove him to have been in the same case, temperate and judicious.

Lord Bolingbroke, in his treatise on Exile, seems to look down upon the Man of Arpinum with a mixed sentiment of pity and contempt. It is true that he seizes him in the most vulnerable part, which is his conduct during banishment. That it had nothing of the firmness of the Stoa, the well-known letters to Terentia abundantly prove. But was Lord Bolingbroke an adequate judge of Tullius in this case? Did he ever come in contact with such a powerful desperado as Clodius? Could his retreat in Orleans be put in competition with the exile of Cicero at Thessalonica? Did he, after having rescued his country from a formidable conspiracy, reap as a reward, the sale of his estates, the burning of his palace, the separation of his wife and children, himself houseless, defenceless, and driven from place to place like the meanest outcast? If he did, and shewed that firmness in his reverses, which he lauds at the expense of Cicero, his criticism would not fail to have due weight. Henry St. John!—Though your periods may be more Ciceronian than those of other English writers, posterity will compel you to stand on even ground, before you can presume to turn up your nose at Tullius in exile.

Of all the charges which have been urged against Cicero, one too which has obtained no trifling credit, that of cowardice appears to stand on the slenderest foundation. Let us briefly recapitulate the leading actions of his life, not with the hope of being able to place them in a new point of view but that those who persist in thinking him a poltroon, may strive to reconcile as they can, those acts, at one glance, with their opinion.

Not then to insist on the extraordinary industry of his juvenile years, which enabled him at the age of sixteen, to discuss in the presence of the first lawyers of Rome, the necessary qualifications of an orator, and which if not actual courage, must have depended on a quality of mind very nearly allied to it, we find him shortly after the commencement of his legal career, traversing all Sicily on foot, braving at every step the agents and assassins of Verres; and not only at the imminent peril of his life, procuring materials for the most splendid specimens of forensic eloquence extant, but thereby entailing on his own head, the hatred and maledictions of more than half of the Roman aristocracy.—First proof of his cowardice.

After the promulgation of Otho's law, which assigned separate seats in the theatre to the equestrian order, Cicero, as soon as informed of the disturbance which consequently ensued, and of the blows given and received by the partisans and opposers of the law, entered the theatre in his *toga consularis*, ordered the spectators to follow him forthwith to the temple of Bellona, chastised them there with the valour of his tongue, and so wrought upon them with his eloquence, that they not only returned in order to the theatre, but vied with the knights themselves in conferring applause on that Otho, whom just before they had overwhelmed with hisses.—Second proof of his cowardice.

We almost feel a repugnance in adverting to the well-known particulars of the Catilinarian conspiracy, sounding as they do in the ears of every school-boy; to his unwearied exertions in detecting and punishing the most nefarious project ever conceived to undermine the settled order of a state. Neither the number, nor ferocity of the conspirators, many of whom were of the first families, nor the suspicion of Cæsar himself being privy to the plot, nor the consciousness of his own head being destined for

amputation, could deter him from laying open the whole conspiracy in five splendid orations, and thereby proving himself not merely the most energetic civil chief magistrate that ever acted on a similar emergency, but as the repulse of Catiline from Præneste shewed, an active and intelligent military officer :

———— galvatum ponit ubique
Præsidium attonitis, et in omni gente laborat.

This then must pass for the third proof of his cowardice; which shall be further corroborated by the prompt measures which he took to punish Lentulus and Cethegus under his own eyes; a daring expedient, and only justifiable from the imminent dangers which beset the republic (1).

The fourth shall be the incontestable evidence that we possess of his having directed the artillery of his eloquence against the most opulent, iniquitous, and powerful individuals. The Ver-

(1) According to Appian, Cicero at the head of some troops, secured their persons, and then returned to the senate, to decide respecting them; if so, he was in perfect order: but supposing he was not, was he not chief magistrate in a crisis of unexampled difficulty?—Appian. II. c. 1.

res, the Pisos, the Clodii, the Gabinii, the Antonii,

——— *referentes navibus altis*

Occulta spolia, et plures de pace triumphos,

were pinioned down hand and foot, by the invectives of this notable poltroon. Not to dwell on the vigour of heart and intellect, on which the delivery of his extemporaneous debating speeches must have depended, nor on the boldness with which he faced the people, to dissuade them from accepting the law proposed by Rullus, a law best calculated of all others, to foment their feverous passions; nor on the spirit which he shewed at the siege of Pindenessus, where there appears at least to have been some smart skirmishing, let us hasten to the consideration of the circumstances of his death, which in the opinion of his detractors, afford abundant proofs of his pusillanimity.

We find from Plutarch, that he was at Tusculanum, when the news of his being included in the proscription of the triumvirate, reached him. He and his brother Quintus immediately betook themselves to the Asturan villa; but not having made their final arrangements, on the road they agreed to separate, after many demon-

strations of reciprocal affection; Quintus, to return to Tusculanum, to procure necessities for the voyage; Marcus, to provide by the sea-shore, a vessel for their escape. In the interval, Quintus appears to have been killed. Marcus, having found a boat at Astura, embarked with the view of dropping down to his Formian villa; but his stomach being discomposed by the motion of the vessel, he was put on shore near the Circean promontory, (*Punta di Terracina.*) Here it is true, he passed a night in cruel agitation; and the next morning he walked about twelve miles on the *via Appia* towards Rome, with the view of falling by his own hand in the palace of Octavius. Here again he appears to have been perplexed by doubt; for the thought which came across his mind of the probability of meeting on the road, the emissaries of the Triumvirs, who most likely would have put him to a cruel death, induced him to turn back, and regain his Formian villa; where it appears that he determined to await his destiny. But his attendants, more anxious for the preservation of his life than himself, had prepared a litter to convey him to the beach, which they with difficulty persuaded

him to enter. The assassins shortly after came up with him; when eyeing them stedfastly, he protruded his venerable head, so covered with clotted filth and dust, so disfigured by anxieties, as to be scarcely recognized by his attendants; who it appears, were willing to fight for him, but pursuant to the commands of their master, left the executioners to do their business (1).

Plutarch, when he says that we cannot contemplate his exit without pity, evidently

(1) *Satis constat servos paratos fuisse ad dimicandum; ipsum deponi lecticam, et quietos pati, quod sors iniqua cogeret, jussisse.* Liv. ap. Senec.

A fragment of Aufidius Bassus, a Roman historian, tells us that he even anticipated the assassins : *Aufidius Bassus, et ipse, nihil dubitavit de animo Ciceronis, quin fortiter se morti non præbuerit tantum, sed obtulerit; et remoto velo, postquam armatos vidit : ego verò consisto, ait, accede veterane, et si hoc saltem rectè potes facere, incide cervicem.* The veteran hesitating, he appears to have encouraged him with a sort of joking defiance : *trementi deinde dubitantique, quid ad me, inquit, si primum venissetis ? I suppose you would faint away, if I were the first, whom you had to execute.*

We see from the preceding sentence, that Livius, not very warm in his admiration of Cicero, bears full testimony to the courage which he displayed in his last moments; he adds : *prominenti ex lectica, præbentique inmotam cervicem, caput præcisum est.* Liv. ap. Senec. Suas. VI.

mistakes the *doubt* with which the orator was beset for *fear*; for as soon as he had determined to die, few men could meet their end with more firmness.

But, cry his detractors, did he not turn pale, and betray proofs of fearful agitation in the delivery of the *Pro Milone*? What! would they have had him present a buxom rubicund phisiognomy, with the weight of one of the most difficult and brilliant defences ever uttered pressing on his nerves, at a moment when the Clodian faction was by no means extinct, when there was more than an even chance that he would again witness those disturbances, which before compelled him to seek refuge at Thessalonica? So rational, so conscientious are these dealers in hypercriticism, that they would have had Tullius possess all that fine and strong feeling on which pure eloquence depends, and not have had him possess it. His anxiety, his agitation, call it if you will *fear*, did not prevent him from facing his adversaries, and delivering the oration in person (1).

(1) The speech indeed is believed to have been retouched; but I see no reason for doubting that it was delivered nearly to a similar tenour.

It is not so easy to emancipate him from the imputation of vanity. Candour indeed compels us to confess that there are certain passages in his orations, more especially in those which were delivered on his return from exile, in which he is almost fulsome; and the unfortunate letter to Luceius remains a standing proof of those accesses of weakness to which the greatest of our species are occasionally liable (1). Yet something perhaps should be allowed for the genius of the times; something for the unparalleled difficulties with which he had to contend; something for the necessity under which he laboured of confirming by his own example, the wavering opinions of several of those, on whose integrity the salvation of the republic depended; something for that transcendancy of mind, which authorised in him certain deviations from common rules, which would be in-

(1) Ep. Famil. V. ep. 12.

His own words will be often found however to vindicate Cicero of vain-glory; though certainly not always: *Et quoniam hoc reprehendis, quòd solere me dicas de me ipso gloriosius prædicare; quis unquam audivit cum ego de me, nisi coactus, ac necessariò dicerem! Non tam sum existimandus de gestis rebus gloriari, quàm de objectis non confiteri. Pro domo suâ ad Pontifices. 35.*

excusable in minds of an ordinary stamp ; something too for those impulses of exultation, which, though better becoming a politician than a philosopher, it was natural for him to give way to, after having triumphed over the iniquity of the Clodian faction. Much as he had of *self* on his tongue, no man had less of it in his heart (1).

(1) The same charge of vanity if persisted in by hypocritics, ought also to implicate Demosthenes. I know no passages in Cicero, in which self-complacency is more conspicuous than the following :

. πως οὐχ' ἀπαντῶν ἐνδοξοτάτα ἡμῖς εὐουλευσασθε ἡμοὶ πισθίητες;

. τίς δὲ ὃ τῇ πολλῇ λεγῶν, καὶ γραφῶν, καὶ πράττων, καὶ ἄλλως ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς δους; ἐγώ

. δι' ὅτινα δὲ ἄλλαι ἢ πολλὰ ἐστιφῶνται, (σὺμβουλον λεγῶ καὶ ῥητορίαν) πλὴν δι' ἐμῆ, οὐδ' ἐν εἰπεῖν ἔχει.

. μόνος τῶν λεγόντων, καὶ πεπολιτευμένων, ἐγὼ τῇ τῆς εὐνοίας ταξίῃ ἐν τοῖς δέουσι οὐκ ὀλιγον.

. ἡμῶς δ' ἐπιεισμένην, μήτε γραφόντ' ἐν ἡμῶν γραφῇ καὶ βέλτιον μὴδεῖν, μήτε πράττοντα τι πράξειν, μήτε πρὸς βουλήν τι πρὸς βουλήν προθυμοτέρων, μήτε δίκαιοτερον.

. καὶ ταῦτα μοι πάντα πεπεισμένα, καὶ οὐδὲν μὴποτε ἀνδρῶν εὐρεῖ το κατ' ἐμῆ οὐδὲν ἑλλειψέσθαι.

. καὶ μεγίστων δὲ πραγμάτων τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων πρῶτας, πάντα ταῦτα ὅπως καὶ δίκαιως πεπολιτευμαι, διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξίω τιμασθῆναι. ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ. *passim*.

The truth is that Demosthenes is not so much studied.

His

His unequalled career at the bar, and the splendour of his consulate, induce most people to expect little less than miracles from Cicero; and the position in which he is most exposed to attack, is the conduct which he observed with respect to the Cæsarean and Pompeian factions. The word *faction* will, I think, go a great way towards vindicating the steps which he pursued; which to the adulators of hereditary chief magistracies established by force of arms, appear unsatisfactory, and oscillating.

It should be remembered that the party of Cæsar was evidently a faction purely *military*, diverging from the *civil* institutions of the republic. That of Pompeius too, though far more plausible than his antagonist's, skreened as it was by the ostensible motive of protecting the existing civil institutions, ought, I apprehend, rather to be considered as the rival *military* faction of Cæsar, if contemplated in its true light (1). The defeat at Pharsalia certainly preserves the honour of Pompeius unimpeachable, since we can conclude nothing *positive* with res-

(1) This will be confirmed in a subsequent note, as far at least as concurrent testimony will admit.

pect to his ulterior projects. But how would he have acted had he there been the conqueror? Was he not a military man in the most extended sense of the word? Did not Cicero, intimate as his knowledge was of human nature, draw the more than probable inference, that the final result to the republic would have been pretty similar, whether Cæsar or Pompeius conquered at Pharsalia? How then did he act in that conjuncture? As well apparently as a *civil* individual could, who had the best interests of the republic at heart; and who was bent on supporting the good cause, without *entirely* compromising himself with Pompeius, and his cohorts; for though he was not in the field, we find him active at Dyrrachium, in doing all that a *civil* individual could, to prop the reeling fortunes of the republic.

His cavilling detractors can only approve his conduct with the provisos of his having served *under* Pompeius in the actions near Dyrrachium, and at Pharsalia; of his classing himself at a venture, among that general's centurions, and of seeing him driven from rank to rank by blustering military chiefs. This forsooth, would have been a proper sphere for him, who

alone by his *civil* exertions, had rescued the state from an atrocious conspiracy; for him, who was of consular dignity, and who had thrown such lustre round the chief magistracy and the tribunals !

Neither would they be satisfied with this. They require him after the battle of Pharsalia, to have followed the discomfited fortune of Pompeius, and have died with him on the Egyptian strand; though it is obvious that few or no hopes for the republic would have remained had he done so; and though it is incontestable that by resuming his station in Italy, he at once consulted his own dignity, proved his courage, and formed a necessary rallying-point for the separated partisans of Pompeius; preferring to be crushed by the tottering fabric of the citadel, rather than to falling, if not ignobly, at least unprofitably in the outworks. Petty jealousies, in affairs of such moment, ought certainly not to be taken into account by those who attempt to draw conclusions in his favour; but we cannot discover any reason why he should have felt strong yearnings of personal affection for Pompeius, who repulsed him with contumely, when he implored his assistance against

Clodius; who on his return from the Mithridatic war, testified towards Cicero nothing but a polite coldness, fruit probably of the jealousy which he entertained of the glory accruing to the orator, from the annihilation of the Catilinarian conspiracy (1).

To come then closely to the point, how would his enemies have had him act? Would they have had him cast himself at a venture, and without any reserve, among the centurions

(1) *In Pompeio nihil come, nihil simplex, nihil liberum, nihil ex τῷ πειρασμῷ honestum*, in one of the letters to Atticus; and in another, *is qui nos sibi quondam ad pedes stratos ne sublevabat quidem*. Traces of secret pantings for illegitimate power may be discovered from the conduct of Pompeius. What did Cassius think of him in a letter to Cicero, written when Cæsar was in Spain, with the hope that the latter would conquer, Cæsar not having yet fully developed his ambitious views? *Peream nisi sollicitus sum; ac malo veterem ac clementem dominum habere, quàm crudelem et novum experiri. Scis Cneius quàm sit fatuus: scis quomodo crudelitatem virtutem putet*. Cass. Ciceron. Famil. XV. 19. Paterculus too confirms his secret aim at exorbitant power: *neque Pompeius ut primùm ad rempublicam est adgressus, quenuquam animo parem tulit*. II. c. 33. Appian also states that Pompeius, when ordered by the consuls to head the armies of the republic against Cæsar, replied, that he was ready to obey them in all things, unless circumstances suggested something more advisable. Appian remarks that this

of Pompeius? This would have been as rational as the architect removing the main buttress necessary for the support of the centre of an old building, to one of the wings. Would they have had him espouse at once Cæsar's interests? This would have been a dereliction of the cause of liberty, of the republic, of those principles which he had uniformly supported, and tantamount to treason. Would they have had him, sword in hand, head a third party of his own? This step would have convulsed the sinking and shattered republic with a third military faction. If the line of conduct which he observed, appears at all unsatisfactory, it must be attributed to the difficulties occasioned by the extraordinary qualities of the contending rivals, rather than to any timorousness, or tergiversation springing from himself.

was a cunning and evasive answer. What were the secret suggestions of his heart, when on the morning of the battle of Pharsalia, turning to his friends he remarked : that on whatever side the victory might prove, it was sure to be pregnant with interminable calamities to the Roman people? App. II. c. 4. All this tends to shew that Cicero's caution with respect to Pompeius, was the result of his discriminating and sound judgment.

« But, » continue his detractors, « it is impossible to surmount his having flattered Cæsar. » Do those, who condemn him point blank for this, weigh attentively the superior qualities with which Julius was gifted ? the paramount ascendancy which he had acquired, not only with the army and people, but with at least one half of the senate ? Great as Tullius was, it would not do for him to kick at random against the pricks of the man, whose talents were so varied and extraordinary, and whose parallel in energies and resources never existed either before, or since his period. Cicero knew him well ; he was aware that though hurried headlong by ambition, he had a heart susceptible of generous impressions, neither was he a man to be controuled by taunts and reproaches. By using then conciliatory means, he hoped, if not to extinguish the jealousies that subsisted between the two rivals, at least to prevent the clouds that were blackening on opposite sides of the political horizon, from coming in violent contact, and pouring their angry flames on the vessel of the state (1). As soon as Cæsar gave

(1) Velleius Paterculus observes that Cicero was the only

proofs of his dishonest intentions, Tullius appears to have been not less decided than Brutus, Cassius, or any other of the conspirators (1).

« Then why did he not use the dagger in the *Curia Pompeiana* ? » Here he seems to have

senator, who proposed terms of reconciliation : *unicè cavente Cicerone concordia publicæ*; confirmed also by Appian. Lib. II. c. 4.

(1) Philipp. II. *passim*. Perhaps the first open proof of Cæsar's views exploded during that splendid procession in his honour in front of the temple of Venus Genitrix; whereat the tribune Pontius Aquila alone kept his seat. At which Julius, starting from the curule chair, and on the brink of epilepsy : *Repete ergò nunc à me rempublicam, Ponti Aquila* ! On granting any favour to his partisans for some days afterwards, he added : *si tamen per Pontium Aquilam licuerit*. The life of this extraordinary man has never yet been properly handled; it requires something higher than the respectable qualities of Plutarch. When we consider the incredible celerity of his movements, the magnanimity which he displayed in pardoning his enemies, the tears which he shed on the death of his rival, can we resist from dwelling with complacency on the lines of Virgil ?

*Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi,
Sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis;
Ergò alacris sylvas, et cætera rura voluptas,
Panaque pastoresque tenet, Dryadasque puellas.*

Dark spots indeed we find in his character; but they are such as we behold in the sun, which the circumambient fire conceals from all but *microscopic* eyes.

acted with as much judgment as the unprecedented difficulties of the case would allow. He whose career was so eminently legal, who had grown hoary in the civil service of the state, would have offered violence to his principles, to the majesty of those laws of which he was the main bulwark, had he vibrated the poignard with Brutus, Cassius, and several of the others, who were professed military men, or who had filled, comparatively with his own, subordinate stations in the republic. We may conclude too that he must have felt an invincible repugnance in sheathing a weapon in the breast of that Cæsar, whose qualities of soul were so transcendant, and who had proved himself so eminent in the favourite pursuits of Cicero.

Standing then as he did daggerless in, or near the *Curia Pompeiana*, fixing merely his *ferret and fiery eyes* on the gorgeous victim appared for the sacrifice (1), he not only acted the most

(1) *Oculis cepi*, Ad Att. XIV. ep. 14. We may infer from which that he was present, or about the scene of action. But there is a passage in a letter to Trebonius, difficult to reconcile with this : *Quàm vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas Id. Mart. me invitasses!* Perhaps this apparent contradiction is explained by taking *epulæ* literally, a supper

judicious part in a crisis of such delicacy and difficulty, but equalled at least the rest of the conspirators in courage; for if any thing had happened adverse to them, Tullius, whose political sentiments were well known, would have sold his life at a cheaper rate than the others who were armed.

The conduct which Cicero observed subsequent to the death of Cæsar, seems not less satisfactory and judicious; for if the senate, as he advised, and not the conspirators only, had assembled in the capitol, the republic perhaps might have been saved, or at least spared those sanguinary scenes, which took place during the second triumvirate (1). Those who persist in taxing Cicero with cowardice, must first tear to pieces Brutus and Cassius, who after the assassination of Cæsar, retired to Antium, from fear of the populace, though they filled the office of prætor; but Cicero at that period, filled none but his usual senatorial station; had

perhaps given by one of the conspirators, whereat they arranged subsequent measures. — If he was not in the Curia Pompeiana, it is more than probable that he was close at hand.

(1) See Ad Att. XIV. ep. 10.

he at that crisis, held as ostensible a one as prætor, he most probably would not have retired at such a moment, from the scene of action. No doubt he would have displayed the same firmness as in the affair of Catiline (1).

This also is worthy of remark, that had Brutus and Cassius shewn as much judgment as Cicero, by remaining in Italy, instead of absenting themselves in remote provinces (2), they would have been able to take advantage of the dissensions that occurred between Octavius and Antonius; they might then have easily sided with the former to crush the latter; while the boy Octavius might in all probability have been easily controuled in any further schemes which he might have nourished hostile to the government. But no more on the political conduct observed by Cicero.

Tullius as an orator, in the opinion of the most distinguished critics, Quintilian I believe

(1) The retreat of Brutus and Cassius to Antium is confirmed by Plutarch, and by Cicero. *Ad Att.* XV. *epp.* 11, 12.

(2) The orator regrets their absence in a letter to Atticus. *O Brute, ubi es, quantam evanescere amittis!* XVI. *ep.* 8.

alone excepted (1), yields the palm to his Athenian rival; that is to say, in the wielding of close argument, supported by resistless force of enthymem, which is unquestionably the most valuable prerogative of the orator. We have nevertheless one oration by Cicero of a higher order even than the ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ: for the defence of Ligarius involves throughout the controul of the most difficult figure in rhetoric; and in the management of irony, which steers clear of vulgarity on the one hand, and of insipidity, or doubtful sense on the other, Cicero not only outshines Demosthenes, but every other orator of whose works we have any notice.

In force of invective too, and panegyric, and more especially in volume of peroration, his eloquence is singularly triumphant. Had he left us nothing but the conclusions of the *Verrines*, the *Pro Milone*, and *Pro Fonteio*, he would have established a sufficient right to the title of a great orator. His most partial admirers are

(1) *Oratores verò vel præcipuè Latinam eloquentiam parrem facere Græcæ possunt; nam Ciceronem cuicumque eorum fortiter opposuerim.* Quint. X. c. 1.

nevertheless obliged to confess, that he is not a little indebted to the illustrious Athenian (1).

It is however only as an orator, that Demosthenes can be said to surpass Cicero. We cannot trace the Grecian discussing philosophical topics with his friends, like the Roman, in dignified retirement; or engaged through life in active correspondence with the leading men of his age; we cannot discover him attentive in moulding the mind of a son; or filling a colonial government with dignity, like Cicero; or extinguishing such dangerous intestine firebrands as Catiline, Cethegus, Clodius, and their counterparts.

He shines preeminent in his correspondence. We have no letters of ancient or modern times, in which we recognize so completely at once the man of business, the sincere friend, the zealous patron, and the sage. No one ever existed more ambitious of true glory; and no one braved with more cheerfulness, those toils and

(1) Justus Lipsius has collated some passages of Cicero and Demosthenes, which prove that the former not unfrequently borrowed from the Athenian. Perhaps the principal defect of the Ciceronian periods is a redundant use of superlatives. Most of his orations teem with *issimi* and *errimi*.

anxieties, without which a substantial fame is wholly unattainable. He did not want to scale the temple by an easy and commodious flight of steps; but was content to work his way up over briars, slippery marl, and rough pointed stones.

One of the most striking features of his character was that buoyant cheerfulness, which enabled him not only to grace his speeches with lively sallies, but to be the soul of every society which he frequented. And perhaps this was no small proof of his greatness. He differed in which respect from Demosthenes, who was silent and severe. We know that Tiro registered his witticisms, which he collected in three volumes, and published after his death; and that Cæsar enjoined those of his friends, who frequented Cicero, to note down carefully the aphorisms and repartees that fell from his fertile mind. Of those preserved to us by Plutarch and Macrobius, we may say in the words of Martial :

*Sunt bona, sunt quædam mediocria, sunt mala
quædam* (1).

(1) Justus Lipsius says : *in facetiis et jocos Cicero semper deus est.*

I defy any body to trace in Cicero a wish to detract from the merit of his distinguished cotemporaries. The Hortensii, the Cornificii, the Attici, the Varros, the Figuli, the Lentuli, the Bruti, the Cassii, the Catuli, and several others, found in him a sincere friend ; and were no doubt as much indebted, among the men of their age, for the applause conferred on them by Cicero , as they are among posterity, for the celebrity which they obtain, from being noticed in his works.

There was one trait in his character for which he has been unfairly censured ; I allude to that humble complaisance to which he had recourse, in endeavouring to persuade his fellow-citizens from siding with the Clodian faction. This conduct, for which we are told by Appian, he entailed on himself the most galling ridicule, places him in an advantageous point of view as a real republican, and sincere patriot. He did not keep sullenly aloof from his countrymen, as Coriolanus would have done in any similar conjuncture ; neither did he feign indifference for their favourable opinions, like a mere compound of blood, pride, and ferocity.

No individual immersed in such high and various pursuits, ever made the head and heart step out so well together. The same man who fulminated with his oratory the highest and most restive spirits of Rome, could be sprightly and hearty with his friends one hour, and the next, absorbed in the investigation of philosophical truths. He was splendid, hospitable, and the man of business, at Rome; dignified, and philosophical at Tusculanum; blending occasionally deep research with the gaities of the world, at his Formian, Cuman, and Puteolan villas; and as we should say in England, a plain country gentleman at Arpinum.

He appears to have been one of the few Romans who knew how to appreciate the sentiment of compassion.

He seems to have looked upon those nations that were incapable of maintaining the elective civil chief magistracy in an inferior point of view.

The uniformity of his political sentiments is confirmed by the manner of his death; which can only be contemplated as a martyrdom in the cause of the elective civil chief magistracy, and of liberty.

That catastrophe ought indeed to be considered as one of the most tragical occurrences in all history; for with his constitution, it must have been more difficult to arm himself with the requisite firmness, than with such as Brutus, Cassius, Cæsar, and others possessed, who were engaged for the greater part of their lives in steeling their hearts with military service, and consequently bereaving death of half its terrors. *Qui talem Ciceronis casum satis dignè deplorare possit, alius Cicero non extat* (1).

To those whose spirits may be dashed by honest but fruitless attempts to realize glory in the arduous careers of politics or law, he shines like a beacon seen on a dark night, from the midst of a tempestuous sea, by the distressed mariner; and in this point of view, he must always prove superior to the philosophical politician, or pure moralist in their closets; whose speculations and exhortations, however useful to others, and honourable to themselves, cannot have the same weight as those promulgated by one, who was more engaged in combating political abuses through life, than any other

(1) Val. Max. V. c. 3.

individual either before or since his period ; and whose career, in spite of its difficulties , seems to have been a perpetual commentary on his thoughts and assertions. We search in vain for his parallel in modern times ; most likely too in ancient. For the great men who have figured on the theatre of politics in our age, have found a firmer *point d'appui* than Cicero ; education being much more widely extended, and consequently the weapons of ferocity much more blunted. He may be said to resemble, in the attitude which he presented to the fierce spirits of the latter period of the Roman republic, the seraph Abdiel making his way with firmness along the lines of Milton's legionary dæmons.

His philosophy was drawn from the sublimest sources ; and he appears to have formed an eclectic system of his own. The treatises *De Gloria*, *De Republica*, and the Exhortation to philosophy intitled *Hortensius*, are great losses to the literary world. It is certain that Petrarch had the first in his possession, and St. Augustine, the last (1). The *De Republica* was

(1) Pet. Ep. Senil. It appears that Petrarch lent the M.S. to his tutor, who pawned it when in distressed circumstances.

also entire in France about the tenth century (1). We may infer their value from the *aureæ sententiæ*, which have been preserved by Lactantius and Augustine. The last records a sentence, in which Tullius seems to agree with some philosophers, that man was created to expiate crimes committed in a previous state of existence; a dogma, which it might be rash implicitly to adopt; but which from most appearances in the physical and moral worlds, it would be difficult to refute. At any event it sounds more plausible than the *literal* acceptance of the Mosaic apple (2).

It is worthy of remark that Cicero, in those of his philosophical works, wherein he gives the reins to his imagination, (as in the *Somnium*

Petrarch offered a large sum for its recovery; but the tutor ashamed of the transaction, refused to mention the person to whom he had consigned it.—Tiraboschi.

(1) Petit Radet Des Bibliothèques.

(2) Voltaire, in a sentence replete with truth and energy says : *La nature sanglante est assise entre la naissance et la mort!* This may serve as a commentary on the above speculation of Cicero. It would be easy to subjoin a long note. There are five good dissertations on the Ciceronian philosophy in the *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, by M. Gautier de Sibert.

Scipionis ,) seems to embrace the belief of the immortality of the soul ; while in those , to which he applies argument , he sometimes appears inclined to reject it . It is certain that he has thrown a veil of scepticism over his highest speculations ; but whether conclusive or not , a mind like Cicero's , could never have been diverted from the pursuit of the ΚΑΛΟΝ , the ΑΓΑΘΟΝ , and the ΠΡΕΠΟΝ .

But I am gliding insensibly into the last section of Middleton . Sufficient has been stated to clear Tullius of imputations of pusillanimity , which have been hastily urged by those , who are secretly jealous of his well-earned fame , though he has long rotted in the sepulchre ; or by those , who from an inclination to military ascendancy in states , refuse to associate his conduct in important points , with their approbation .



ON QUINTUS FRATER, MARCUS FILIUS,
TERENTIA, AND TULLIA.

QUINTUS CICERO would shine in the Roman annals, did he not stand too near his brother. He filled successively the offices of edile, quæstor, and proprætor in Asia; he was also despatched by Pompeius to purchase grain in Sardinia, when Rome suffered from scarcity. He subsequently served under Julius Cæsar, in Gaul and Britain; and afterwards was attached to his brother in the proconsulate of Cilicia (1).

The orator had evidently a high opinion of his talents, and he has introduced him as an interlocutor in the *De Legibus* and *De Divinatione*.

The circumstances of his death are very tragical. In the proscription of the triumvirate, his son Quintus concealed him from the assassins, and used every effort to save him; which he did so effectually, as to make their search and inquiries fruitless. Irritated at not finding

(1) Ad Att. I. ep. 12. II. ep. 5. Ad Quint. Frat. II. ep. 14. Cæs. Com. lib. V. and Famil. XV. ep. 4.

Quintus, they applied the torture to his son; the father unable to suppress the agony which he felt, on hearing the groans of his son, withdrew from his retreat, and surrendered himself to the assassins, with the hope of rescuing the younger Quintus. The father then supplicated the murderers that they should make away with him first, protesting his inability to witness the execution of his offspring. The son besought the same for himself. The inhuman emissaries replied that they would speedily settle all difficulties; and shutting the father in one room, and the younger Quintus in the other, despatched them both at the same moment (1). A memorable instance of the blessings accruing to society from the predominance of military influence.

Marcus, son of the orator, served in the battle of Philippi; and afterwards joined Sextus Pompeius, who received him with every demonstration of respect. In the truce, which Sextus subsequently signed with the triumvirs at Misenum, it was stipulated that the proscribed should obtain pardon, and the resti-

(1) Dio Cassius, lib. XLVII. and Appian. Bell. Civil.

tution of their goods and estates. Marcus profiting of this, lived for some time in retirement, and remote from public concerns. Augustus afterwards created him high-priest and augur; he subsequently named him one of the superintendants of the mint; and after the battle of Actium, associated him in the consulate. *Litteræ laureatæ* were addressed by Augustus to Marcus, announcing his victory at Actium, and the conquest of Egypt. Marcus read them to the senate and people. He then ordered the demolition of all the statues and monuments of Antonius. « Providence, » remarks Plutarch, « by a striking revolution of events, permitting that the son of the illustrious orator should triumph over the name and fortunes of Antonius. »

Dio Cassius makes a similar remark. Marcus Cicero would make a good figure in history, had he not accepted office from the man, who acquiesced to the proscription of his father. — Seneca tells us that he scourged publicly an individual, for calumniating the reputation of the orator.

The documents transmitted to us respecting Terentia, are very few; we therefore can arrive

at no satisfactory conclusions with regard to her repudiation. Middleton, eager even in trivial points, to vindicate Cicero, ascribes it to her high and interfering spirit, which ultimately subdued the patience of the orator. St. Jerom tells us that she afterwards married Sallust the historian, and sworn enemy of Cicero; she found a third husband in Messala; and Dio Cassius gives her a fourth, one Vibius Rufus; who boasted in the reign of Tiberius, that he was the possessor of two things, each the property of two great men; one, the wife of Cicero; the other, the chair in which Cæsar was assassinated. According to Valerius Maximus, Terentia attained the advanced age of one hundred and three years; according to Plinius, one hundred and seventeen.

Tullia, the only daughter of Cicero, had, as is well known, three husbands. The first of whom was Caius Piso; the second, Furius Crassipes; and the third, Cornelius Dolabella. We cannot discover the year of her birth; but Casaubon suspects that she could not have been more than twelve years of age, when she married Piso; who we find from several passages

quoted by Bayle, was a man of good character, and took a deep interest in all that concerned his father-in-law. Piso is supposed to have died during Cicero's exile. We know nothing of her second husband Crassipes; and it is uncertain whether he repudiated her, or made way by death, for Cornelius Dolabella; who began ill, promised subsequently better, and ended as he began. His agreeable manners so cajoled Terentia and her daughter, that they thought him an excellent match. Dolabella occasioned great uneasiness to Cicero, by the sedition which he excited, when tribune of the people; and by the proposal of the maddest of all possible laws respecting debtors. Tullia soon had reason to regret the match which she had made; and her journey to Brundisium was probably undertaken to consult with her father on the divorce, which she subsequently effected. Cicero, notwithstanding the separation, *ménageait* him as long as he could, and corresponded with him till after the death of Cæsar; but in consequence of his infamous conduct in Asia, and the cruelties which he exercised on Trebonius, the orator broke all ties with him, and made him

feel the lash of his eloquence in the second Philippic (1).

Tullia died A. U. C. 708, when Cæsar was in Spain, who wrote a consolatory letter to Cicero on the occasion, dated from Hispalis.

The affection that Cicero felt for Tullia has almost passed into a proverb. In his correspondence, he styles her *deliciæ*, *deliciolæ*, *mea anima*, *lux*, *desiderium*. Lactantius speaks highly of her personal qualities. *Il y a beaucoup d'apparence que Tullie étoit douée de mille bonnes qualités, et l'une des plus aimables personnes de son temps, puisqu'elle avoit acquis à un tel point, la tendresse d'un tel père*, says Bayle. Plutarch assigns as the reason of Cicero's divorce from

(1) *Cæteris quidem vitæ partibus, quis est qui possit, sine Trebonii maximâ contumeliâ, conferre vitam Trebonii cum Dolabellæ? Alterius consilium, ingenium, humanitatem, innocentiam, magnitudinem animi in patriâ liberandâ, quis ignorat? Alteri, à puero pro deliciis crudelitas fuit; deinde ea libidinum turpitudine, ut in hoc sit semper lætatus quòd ea fecerat, quæ sibi objici ne ab inimico quidem possent verecundo; et hic, dii immortales, aliquando fuit meus; occulta enim erant vitia non inquirenti; neque nunc fortasse alienus ab eo essem, nisi ille vobis, nisi mœnibus patriæ, nisi huic urbi, nisi diis penatibus, nisi aris et focis omnium nostrûm, nisi denique naturæ et humanitati, inventus esset inimicus.* Phil. II.

Terentia, her sending Tullia to Brundisium in a mean equipage. Be it as it may, the grief that he felt for her loss, seems almost to have upset his mind.

A few words on the calumny which would induce us to believe Cicero worse than the Cinyras of Ovid, and Tullia but little better than his Myrrha. *Les caresses que la proximité du sang autorise entre les personnes de différent sexe, sont exposées à de mauvaises interprétations, dès qu'elles passent au delà de l'ordinaire. Qu'y a-t-il que la médisance n'empoisonne ?* observes the judicious Bayle. The defamation appears to have originated in the declamation of the sophist, who cloaks himself with the name of Sallust. Donatus is the only old commentator of Virgil who suspects that the line

Hic thalamos natæ invasit, vetitosque hymenæos

alludes to Cicero. Servius, a far more diligent annotator, absolutely rejects it (1); so evidently does Bayle, so does Middleton, so in fine do all those who have made the human heart their

(1) *Nefas est credi dictum esse de Tullio, quod convicium à Sallustio Ciceronis inimico natum est.* Serv. ad Æn. VI.

study; for had Cicero been guilty of a crime, which even the pagans held in detestation, he would have skulked from the notice of his friends, after the decease of his daughter. Now there is no subject on which he unbosomed himself so completely to his friends, as on that occasion; who returned for the affliction which he expressed, suitable consolatory letters. His mind, naturally susceptible of the noblest sentiments, would have become obscured; neither is it reasonable to suppose that he could have reappeared at the bar, or in the senate, at least with any effect. But several of the most trying events of his life occurred; several of his most powerful harangues were delivered, subsequent to the death of Tullia. But let us suppose that the line of Virgil does glance obliquely at Cicero. Much scandal, we may presume, flitted about the court of Augustus; whose flatterers were no doubt eager to propagate any calumny against Cicero, whereby they might hope to extenuate the *deep damnation of his taking off*, and make it sit lighter on the heart of the emperor. The declamation above alluded to, is held in merited contempt by Ernestus; and it is so poor a composition, that the future compilers

of editions of Cicero, would perhaps do well to expunge it altogether.

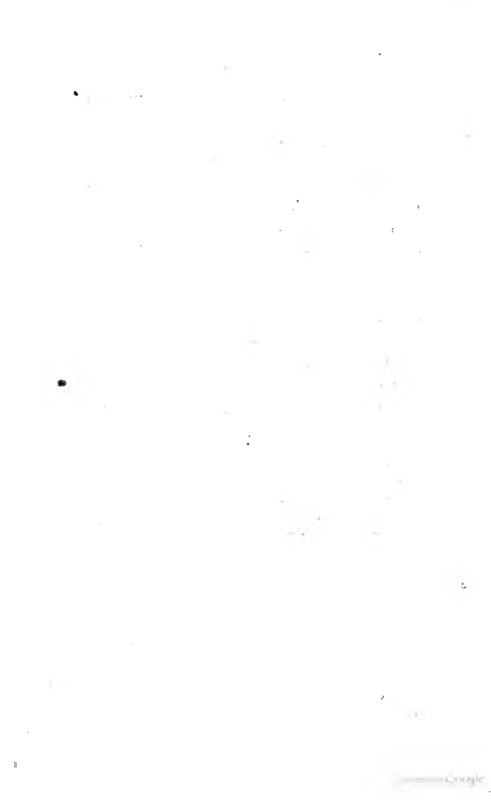
A few words also on the calumny of Dio Cassius respecting Cerellia. The Abbé Mongault in one of his notes to his translation of the Letters to Atticus, roundly says of this woman : *la bonne amie de Cicéron* (1). Let us hear what he says in another note, and which is something more to the purpose; though to be sure, it is somewhat curious to quote an author in opposition to himself : *C'est cette femme, dont on prétend que Cicéron devint amoureux, sur ses vieux jours, quoiqu'elle fût encore plus vieille que lui. Il est vrai que c'est Dion, qui le fait dire à Calenus, dans son invective en réponse à la seconde Philippique; et cet historien est si outré dans tout ce qu'il dit contre Cicéron, qu'il ne mérite aucune croyance. Corradus cite Quintilien et Ausone, dont il appuie le témoignage de Dion; mais il les cite sans fondement. Quintilien rapporte seulement un passage d'une lettre de Cerellia, qui n'a aucun rapport à la galanterie; et les lettres de galanterie à Cerellia, qu'Ausone cite, ne sont point de Ci-*

(1) Note à la 19.^e lettre du livre XIV.

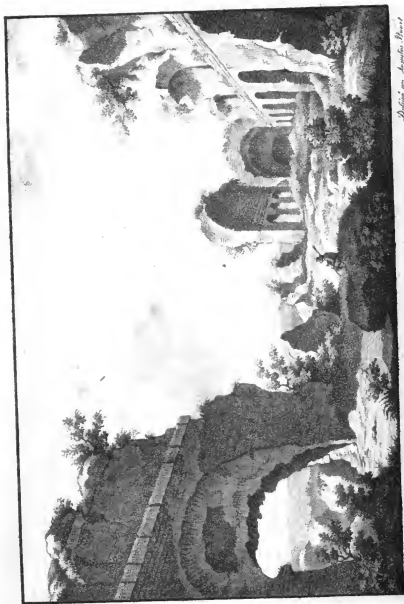
céron , mais d'Apulée , et c'est une Cerellia , qui n'a rien de commun avec celle-ci (1). It must be remembered that Cerellia does not figure in Cicero's correspondence with Atticus, till towards the close of his life; and that Dio himself confesses that she was older than the orator; who describes her in one of his letters, *mirificè studio philosophiæ flagrans* (2). He therefore who would make him an *homme de galanterie* at the close of his life with Cerellia, need not stick at turning our Johnson into a *Paris*, and Mrs. Thrale into his *Enone*; because forsooth letters passed between them. The other aspersions of Dio Cassius are beneath the notice of a professed *Ciceromastix*.

(1) Note à la 15.^e lettre du livre XII.

(2) Ad Att. XIII. ep. 21. — Tiraboschi remarks, *Dell'amicizia che Cicerone mostrò per Cerellia, si valse Dione a calunniarlo. Ma ognuno sa qual fede si debba in tale argomento a uno storico, il quale pare che si prendesse di mira l'oscurare quanto gli era possibile, la fama di sì grand'uomo.*







After a Lithograph by G. L. Chardon in Geneva

Designed by Augustus Planché

Remains of the Acropolis of Fuscúlana.

ON THE VILLAS OF CICERO.

Numerous were the villas which Tullius possessed in various parts of Italy. Middleton states that according to some, he was owner of no fewer than eighteen; but he is silent as to his authority. Exclusive of his house on the Palatine, I have never been able to make out more than ten : a number sufficiently considerable, and which it may be questioned whether the Roman emperors exceeded, or even equalled. On this account some have thrown out suspicions injurious to his reputation; but dexterous forsooth must he have been, if with his multiplicity of vocations, he could have found time to turn fortune-hunter, and cajole people out of their estates. Some of his country-houses he no doubt built; and it is probable that single men of respectability, aware of his high merit, and having no descendants of their own, made him their heir (1).

Middleton seems to contradict himself, when having stated on the authority of Seneca, that

(1) Confirmed, I see, by his own words, *Phil. II. c. 16.*

the Romans usually built their villas on hills, he proceeds to look upon Grotta-Ferrata as occupying the site of the Tusculan villa, situated under the hills between Frascati and Albano (1). But the monastery of La Ruffinella, lately occupied by Jesuits, but now by Lucian Buonaparte, more likely stands on the Tusculan retreat of Cicero. Nothing can be conceived finer than the landscape commanded by this enviable spot. The corridor is filled with mutilated inscriptions and busts found in the ruins of the city above. One of them is inscribed

DIPHILOS

POETES

probably the tragic poet mentioned by Cicero, as having lampooned Pompeius at the Apollinarian games (2).

Ascending the hill by a fine shrubbery, the chief ornament of which is a very perfect sitting statue, most likely of the orator, and recently

(1) Near Grotta-Ferrata, I remarked several magnificent planes, the descendants perhaps of those under which Cotta, Crassus, and Scævola discussed the qualifications of an orator. *De Orat.* I. 8.

(2) *Ludis Apollinaribus Diphilus Poeta in nostrum Pompeium potulanter invecus est.* *Ad Att.* II. ep. 19.

found

found in the ruins of Tusculum by the proprietor, we reached the site of the ancient city. Considerable remains of the theatre and public aqueduct have been unearthed, and the guide told me that some leaden pipes and tiles have been found with the orator's name inscribed (1).

Close to where they were excavated, and a few paces from the amphitheatre, there are magnificent ruins, which bear the character of the buildings of the latter period of the republic. They consist of a long *crypto-porticus*, which communicated with several chambers; traces of which are still visible. It is pretty obvious that there was another story. They have been called time immemorial *La Scuola di Cicerone*; and with every probability on their side, may be contemplated as the remains of the *Academia Tusculana*, which we need no longer look for at Grotta Ferrata, as Middleton imagined, or even at La Ruffinella; but rather on the declivity of the hill facing the Alban mount—that mount so majestically apostrophized in the *Pro Milone*!

(1) Perhaps they conveyed the *Aqua Crabra*, for which he paid an annual rent to the Tusculans : *ego Tusculanis pro aquâ Crabrâ vectigal pendum*. In Rull, 5.

Vos enim jam Albani tumuli, atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro et obtestor, vosque Albanorum obrutæ aræ, sacrorum populi Romani sociæ et æquales, quas ille præceps amentid, cæsis, prostratisque sanctissimis lucis, substructionum insanis molibus oppresserat : vestræ tum aræ, vestræ religiones viguerunt, vestra vis valuit, quam ille omni scelere polluerat : tuque ex tuo edito montè Latiaris sancte Jupiter, cujus ille lacus, nemora, finesque sæpe omni nefario stupro et scelere maculârat, aliquando ad eum puniendum oculos aperuistis : vobis illæ, vobis, vestro in conspectu seræ, sed justæ tamen et debitæ pœnæ solutæ sunt.

As we descended from the *Telegoni juga parricidæ*, a loud clap of thunder burst with *fracas* from the steeps where the temple of *Jupiter Latiaris* formerly stood; the welkin behind *Tusculum* was shrouded in black, while a strong gleam of light was poured full on the ruins of the *Academia*. The striking accidents of the landscape corresponded with the recollections of him whose favourite retreat was the object of our visit; immortalized as it is by those philosophical disputations, which the common consent of the learned world classes among the

most valuable monuments of Roman literature. Tullius indeed is no where greater than at Tusculanum. Common statesmen and lawyers on retiring into the country, are obliged to renovate their hearts with light reading, or family chit-chat. His *unbendings* were with Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno.

In a second visit to La Ruffinella, when the Tusculan groves appeared in the gay livery of spring, I caused a faithful copy of the profile of the above-mentioned statue to be taken, subjoined in a preceding page. The more I consider it, the more I am inclined to think it a Cicero.

The classical retreat of La Ruffinella has been celebrated in some racy stanzas of the sixteenth century, with which we will take a farewell of Tusculanum, and its present proprietor; for the Vennsian whispers :

*Ne semper udum Tibur, et Æsulæ
Declive contempleris arvum, et
Telegoni juga parricidæ.*

I.

Su le porte del vecchio Tusculano,
Nell' alto monte sta la Ruffinella;

L'empito de li venti soffia in vano ;
 Quivi si gode ogn' altra cosa bella ;
 Monti, campagne, e il Lazio Romano
 Domina , come Sole ogn' altra stella.
 La vista, l'aria , l'acque, i frutti , e l'ombre ,
 Fanno ch' ogni travaglio quì si sgombre.

II.

Sopra un ameno poggio antiche mura
 Con mirabil disegno , e arte rara ,
 Sostentan l'edificio, che non cura
 Caldo , nè gelo , e con la vista cara ,
 Rimira i colli intorno, e la pianura ,
 Il mar Tirreno, e la città preclara
 Di Roma, il gran Soratte, e le colline
 Fertilissime e grate Tiburtine.

III.

Spira quivi dal lucido oriente
 Aura soave, e porta al ciel splendore ;
 La tramontana se ne vien sovente
 Purgando intorno ogni dannoso humore ;
 Ma dal notturno e tacit' occidente
 Soave spira il vento , e tempera l'hore.
 Il mezzo giorno con allegra faccia ,
 Con l'uno e l'altro vento ivi s'abbraccia.

IV.

O desiato avventurato colle,
 Che di bello habitar sti si dotato !
 La fama Tusculana ogn' uno estolle ;
 Il Tusculano cielo a tutti e grato ,

A ville antiche la lor gloria tolle ;
 L'aria e la terra l'han tanto esaltato !
 Li convicini, e anco i Tramontani
 Vengono a ristorarsi e farsi sani (1).

With regard to the Asturan villa, Wolfius, in his *Latium Vetus*, gives a view of some ruins, *quas*, to use his words, *reliquias villæ Ciceronis rectè dixeris*. They stand on a small island at the mouth of the rivulet which flows by Astura, a town of Phænician origin, as its name implies. Cicero in one of his letters says : *est hic locus amœnus, qui et Circeiis et Antio aspici potest*. The bad character of the people deters strangers from visiting Astura, as it did myself, not without regret; for this retreat was the scene of the orator's affliction on the death of his daughter. Wandering among the thickets from morn to even, philosophy seems to have afforded him but slight consolation : *in hac solitudine careo omnium colloquio, cumque manè in sylvam me abstrusi densam et asperam, non exeo inde ante vesperam. Secundùm te, nihil amicus solitudine; in eâ mihi omnis sermo est cum literis; eum tamen interpellat fletus, cui*

(1) Fabrizio Le Delizie Tusculane. Roma. 1596.

repugno quoad possum, sed adhuc pares non sumus (1).

The site of what is called the Ciceronian villa at Antium, which contained his best library, is laid down by Sickler in his topography of Latium.

As for the Formian villas, (*superior et inferior*,) the site of the first is not pretended to be known; but the keeper of the inn at Mola di Gaeta, called *la villa di Cicerone*, where we breakfasted, will not fail to carry you through his orange and lemon orchard, to an ancient bath supported by columns of a good style, and one of the most perfect of the Roman ruins; which at his suggestion, I suppose, we must dignify with the title of *Villæ Formianæ inferioris rudera*. The substructions of the town of Formiæ are hard by seen every where under the waves.

As I embarked at Baiæ, near the tomb of Agrippina, to cross over to Puzzuoli, on a fine star-light evening, which brought to recollection one of the finest passages of Tacitus (2), the

(1) *Ad Att.* XII. ep. 15.

(2) Descriptive of the murder of Agrippina by Nero : *noc-*

guide pointed to a hill above the Lucrine lake, now reduced to the size of a pond, and which he called the site of the Cuman villa; if so, it was not more than a mile from the Puteolan, of which twelve or thirteen arches are still seen on the side next the vineyard, and intermixed as they are with trees, are very picturesque seen from the sea. These ruins are about one mile from Puzzuoli, and have always been styled *L'Academia di Cicerone*. Plinius is very circumstantial in the description of the site: *ab Averno lacu Puteolos tendentibus imposita littori*. The classical traveller will not forget that the Puteolan villa is the scene of some of the orator's philosophical works. I searched in vain for the mineral spring commemorated by Laurea Tullius, in the well-known complimentary verses preserved by Plinius; for it was effaced by the

tem sideribus illustrem, et placido mari quietam, quasi convincendum ad scelus Di præbuere. The reflection of the stars too in the rippling waves reminded me of something more pleasing :

*Ante bonam Venerem gelidæ per littora Baiæ,
 Illa natare lacus cum lampade jussit Amorem.
 Dum natat, algentes cecidit scintilla per undas;
 Hinc vapor ussit aquas : quicunque natavit, amavit.*

Frag. Inc. Auct.

convulsions which the whole of this tract experienced in the sixteenth century, so poetically described in Gray's hexameters (1).

It would appear from several passages in his letters, that Cicero was very partial to these enchanting shores; but he complains to Atticus of the frequent intrusion of idle visitors: *O loca cæteroquivaldè expetenda, interpellantium autem multitudine penè fugienda!* (2)

Among numerous excursions made in the environs of Naples, I crossed to the little island of *Nesis*, now called *Nesita*, rarely visited, and resembling in shape a Greek theatre; tempted to go thither by the recollection that in the most critical period of the republic, the orator had a rendez-vous there with Brutus: *Nonis Quint. veni in Puteolanum; postridiè iens ad Brutum, in Nesidem hæc scripsi. Bruto tuæ literæ gratæ erant; fui enim apud illum multas horas in Neside* (3). The whole of this island belonged to Lucullus. It is worth while to visit the castle, which commands one of the best views of the

(1) *Nec procul infelix se tollit in æthera Gaurus*, etc.

(2) *Ad Att. XVI. ep. 16.*

(3) *Ad Att. XVI. ep. 1.*

Puteolan bay. Here your eye may range over the promontory of Misenum; more interesting as having been the retreat of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, than the occasional residence of Lucullus and Tiberius. Beyond are the fertile and populous isles of Ischia and Procida; the first, the temporary abode of Vittoria Colonna, the accomplished and excellent marchioness of Pescara; a little above the now desolate *Baiæ*, stands *Bauli*, where the orator and Hortensius went through their philosophical exercises together (1); while nearly in the midst of the bay, the sea still foams round a black stone, part of the foundations of the pharos to the *Portus Julius*. A century or less will probably efface the scanty remains of one of the noblest works of the Augustan age; but it will exist for ever in the sonorous lines of Maro :

*An portus memorem, Lucrinoque addita claustra,
Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor;
Julia quæ ponto longè sonat unda refuso,
Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur æstus Avernis ?*

(1) *Quibus de rebus et aliàs sæpe nobis multa quæsitæ, et disputata sunt, et quondam in Hortensii villa, quæ est ad Baulos. Acad. Quæst. II. Hortensius was a frequent visitor at the Cuman villa; which was often crowded with company: habemus in Cumano quasi pusillam Romam. Ad Att. V. ep. 2.*

With regard to the Pompeian villa of Cicerò, the learned Abate Romanelli in his journey from Naples to Pompeii, thinks that the house near the street of the Tombs, above that of Marcus Arrius Diomedes, is the villa in question (1). He founds his opinion on a passage of the Academical Question entitled *Lucullus*, in which the orator discussing the sentiments of Epicurus respecting the senses, with Lucullus in his villa at *Bauli*, thus speaks : *ego Catuli Cumanum ex hoc loco video, Pompeianum non cerno; neque quidquam interjectum est quod obstat, sed intendi longius acies non potest. O præclarum prospectum! Puteolos videmus, at familiarem nostrum Avianum in porticu Neptuni ambulantem non videmus*. He could then, observes Romanelli, see from Bauli, a village near the promontory of Misenum, the Cuman villa of Catulus to his left, and the town of Puteoli on the opposite side of the bay; but he could not descry his Pompeian villa; not that any thing intervened, *sed quia intendi longius acies non potest*. Now of all the houses in Pompeii, this is the only one yet

(1) Viaggio da Napoli a Pompeii, Nap. 1817.

discovered that commands a view of the site of Bauli in the distant haze. Here then, continues the Abate, we must place his villa. Ingenious as this conjecture is, it must be remembered that only one fifteenth of Pompeii has been yet unearthed; and perhaps if the excavations are continued nearer the sea, the discovery of his villa may yet be ascertained by existing monuments. I certified that Romanelli is right with regard to the view both at Bauli and Pompeii. Be it as it may, the house contains a spacious cellar well-stored with flagons, standing as they were left, but filled with ashes from Vesuvius, which are still reddish from the crimson juice. A flight of stairs (a great rarity in the houses of Pompeii) leads to a gallery inlaid with Mosaic. Fragments of white marble lie scattered about.

The classical traveller as he surveys from this terrace the azure expanse of the Neapolitan gulph, bounded by Castellamare, where the elder Plinius dropped down suffocated, by Capri, and cape Misenum, will hardly refrain from exclaiming with the orator : *O præclarum prospectum!*

ON THE MONUMENTS OF CICERO.

THE Abate Lignaminio, an antiquary of Padua, relates that on the first of December, 1544, as some workmen were digging the foundations of a church in the island of Zante, they discovered the sepulchre of the orator; and within it one cinerary, and two lacrymatory vases. He as well as Clavelli, are of opinion that the domestics who were present at the assassination, after his head and hands were cut off by Popilius Lænas, burnt his body, and sailed with the ashes to Zacynthus, where they honoured them with a funeral. But have any travellers seen this monument at Zante? I can only say that Clavelli in his *Storia d'Arpino*, gives a view of it, which I copied at Naples.

Fig. 7. (See *Frontispiece*,) exhibits one end of the sepulchre, with the inscription.

Fig. 8. is the cinerary urn, which possibly contained the ashes of the orator.

Fig. 9. is the bottom of the cinerary urn. Who the *Tertia Antonia* of the inscription may have been is unknown.

Here perhaps it may not be inapposite to introduce an epitaph lately published for the first time at Rome, and taken from a M. S. of the fourteenth century, in the possession of Signor Mariottini; whether it may have been inscribed on an ancient sarcophagus, or whether it be the invention of some monk, cotemporary of Petrarch, I leave to skilful Latinists to decide :

*Unicus orator, lumenque, decusque senatûs ;
 Servator patriæ, conditor eloquii ;
 Cujus ab ingenio tandem illustrata perenni
 Lumine præclaro lingua Latina viget ;
 Decidit indignè manibus laceratus iniquis
 Tullius, hoc tumulo conditus exiguo.
 Quicumque in libris nomen Ciceronis adoras ;
 Adspice quo jaceat conditus ille loco.
 Ille vel orator, vel civis maxinus idem ,
 Clarus erat famâ, clarior eloquio.
 Quisquis in hoc saxo Tulli legis advena nomen,
 Ne dedigneris dicere, Marce vale ! (1)*

The only ancient bust with the orator's name inscribed, was in the Mattei collection at Rome ; but it has lately passed into the hands of an il-

(1) Lettera di Cancellieri. Roma, 1812.

lustrious English Duke ; who, after a series of brilliant achievements in the field, proves that he reverences the *toga Ciceroniana* as it deserves.

The Magnesian medal preserved, I believe, in a monastery at Ravenna, exhibits his profile and name in Greek.

The busts shewn in the Campidoglio, and in the Medicean gallery at Florence, are so far valuable, that they exactly resemble each other. But I suspect that they are not portraits of the orator ; who speaks somewhere of his *procerum et tenue collum*. Now these busts are fleshy, and short about the neck. But in the Medicean collection, there is another portrait, which usually goes by the name of the Florentine bust ; copies of which are spread so generally throughout Europe. It is certainly expressive of acuteness of intellect, and passes for the best reputed likeness of the orator. The inhabitants of Arpino preserved a very ancient bust of their townsman, in front of their town-hall ; but it was destroyed during the commotions which took place in their city, in consequence of the French invasion.

Whether or no the statue lately found among the ruins of Tusculum, the profile of which is inserted in this work, represent the orator, *videant Viscontii*.

Of the inscriptions commemorating the family of the Ciceros, Mauri in his *Antichità Romane*, notices the following on the pedestal of a statue erected by the Arpinates, in the Tusculan villa :

M. TULLIO. CICERONI. M. F.
ROMANAE. FACUNDIAE. PRINCIPI.
QUAEST. AED. COS. PRO. COS.
IMPERATORI.
P. P. ARPINATES.

Arce is an ancient city of the Volsci ; built on a precipitous rock , washed by the Liris , and about eight miles from Arpino. It retains its ancient name ; and is noted as having been the residence of Quintus Cicero. Like Arpino, it is one of the five Saturnian cities ; and it is frequently alluded to in the correspondence with Atticus and Quintus. To the east of the city , some remains of *opus reticulatum* , and *fornices* are visible, which have been always called *l'aja di Cicerone* , or the *barn of Cicero*. In the year
1807,

1807, there were also found vestiges of an aqueduct, probably the same constructed by the architects Messidius and Philoxenus, who were employed by Quintus Cicero in hydraulic works. Near the ruins the following inscriptions have been discovered.

I.

Q. ET. M. TULLIS. Q. ET. M. F.F.
CICERONIBUS.
III. VIREIS. AED. POT. MUNICIP:
ARPINATIUM.

II.

M. TULLIO. M. F. M. N. M. PN.
CICERONI. COS.
PROCOS. PROV. ASIAE. LEG. IMP:
CAES. AUG. IN. SIRIA.
PATRONO.

III.

M. TULLIO. M. F. M. N. M. PN. COR:
CICERONI.
COS. PROCOS. PATRONO.

IV.

C. AVIANUS. PHILOXENUS:
ARCHITECTUS.
REDEMPTOR. OPERIS.

The first appears to have supported a statue erected to Quintus and Marcus, the nephew and son of the orator, who we find were triumvirs and ædiles at Arpinum.

The second and third are both relating to Marcus the son.

The fourth apparently records the architect employed by Quintus Cicero, in the embellishments of his villa at Arce.

I cannot resist adding to these inscriptions, one recorded by Clavelli in his *Storia d'Arpino*, said to have been written on the walls of Cicero's house on the Palatine hill, the day after his expulsion by Clodius; though of doubtful authority, it is of remote antiquity, having been interpreted by Venerable Bede; and consisting only of twelve initials, has an air of mysterious interest.

P. P. P.	<i>Pater Patriæ Proficiscitur.</i>
S S. S.	<i>Sapientia Secum Sublata est.</i>
R. R. R.	<i>Respublica Romana Ruit.</i>
F. F. F.	<i>Ferro Flammâ Fame.</i>

Most travellers as they journey from Itri to Mola di Gaeta, are unwilling to contemplate the ruined tower on the right of the road,

nearly overgrown with weeds, and supported in the interior by a central column, in any other light than as a monument destined to commemorate the assassination. We know from Livius, that his death took place near the Formian villa, *quæ paulò plus mille passibus abest à mari*; about the actual distance of the tower in question from the beach; not that we can come to any thing certain, for the encroachments of the sea are every where obvious about Mola. Some have taken this ruin to have been a watch-tower, built as it is like those seen by Swinburne on the coasts of the Adriatic. But the neighbouring point of Gaeta would have been a far more advantageous site for a look-out tower. Whatever was its destination, as we wandered on this delicious shore on a fine December evening, the impressive lines of Cornelius Severus appeared wafted to our ears by the ripple of the Tyrrhene waves.

*Oraque magnanimùm spirantia penè virorum
In rostris jacuère suis : sed enim abstulit omnes,
Tanquam sola foret , rapti Ciceronis imago.
Tunc redeunt animis ingentia Consulis acta,
Juratæque manus , depressaque fœdera noxæ,
Patriciumque nefas : est tunc et pœna Cethegi,*

Dejectusque redit votis Catilina nefandis.
Quid favor, aut cætus, plenis quid honoribus annis
Profuerint ? sacris exacta quid artibus ætas ?
Abstulit una dies ævi decus ; ictaque luctu
Conticuit Latine tristis facundia lingue.
Egregium semper patrie caput : ille senatus
Vindex, ille fori ; legum, ritusque, togæque ,
Publica vox sævis æternum obmutuit armis.
Informes vultus , sparsamque cruore nefando
Canitiem , sacrasque manus , operumque ministras
Tantium , pedibus civis projecta superbis
Proculcavit ovals ; nec lubrica fata , Deosque ,
Respexit—nullo luet hoc Antonius ævo (1).

It struck me, when at Arpino, that no monument exists in honour of Cicero, which may

(1) De Exil. et Mort. M. T. Cic.

When at Bologna, I made an excursion to the spot, which tradition says is immortalized by the rendezvous of the triumvirs, in a small isle formed by the Rhenus. About five miles on one of the roads leading to Modena, the Bolognese senate erected a brick monument with four pediments, on the spot where Octavius, Antonius, and Lepidus acquiesced to the proscription of Cicero. The course of the Rhenus is so altered by canals cut in modern times, that the spot is far from satisfactory to the classical traveller. There is however something irresistible in long tradition, and in the monument having been four times destroyed, as one of the inscriptions informs us. The side facing the road presents the following memorial :

duly serve to remind us of his high desert; and prove that his immortal mind still makes an impression on those, who are capable of estimating it. His memory was as much venerated in the dark ages as now; for according to the learned author of the *Illustrations of Childe Harold*, there existed at Rome in the twelfth century, a building called the Temple of Cicero. It sickens every traveller of common sense in Italy, to behold sumptuous monuments with long and fulsome inscriptions, raised to individuals, whose merits were very doubtful, or at best of a negative and insipid cast. The Corsini chapel attached to the church of *San Giovanni Laterano*, did not cost less, if we may believe report, than 5,000,000 *scudi*; though it may be questioned whether the Corsini ever did any thing for Europe, or their own country

C. Julio. Cæsare. Interfecto.

C. Pansa. et. A. Hirtio. Coss. Cæsis.

M. Antonius. M. Lepidus. et. Cæsar. Octavius.
Triumviratu. Quinquennali. R. P. C. Assumpto.

Rom. Imperio. Inter. Se. Dividendo.

Tabulisque. Proscriptionum. Signandis.

Heic. Ad. Fluenta. Lavini.

Triduo. Constiterunt.

A. U. C. DCC.XI. Ante. Christum. XLIII.

better than thrusting into heaven some saint of their own creation, *Deo Opt. Max. nolente volente*. The Medici, the pride and shame of Florence, are enshrined in a mausoleum; which though unfinished, has not cost less than 10,000,000 *scudi*; some will tell you at Florence, 15,000,000. The cold assertion that the works of Cicero are his noblest monument, if more extended in its application, would go a great way towards neutralizing the labours of the architect, painter, and sculptor. But how can their talents be better employed than in transmitting to posterity proofs of our respect for those, who have devoted themselves to their country, by stemming torrents of corruption; and who have added dignity to our species by perfecting the rare and divine gift of eloquence? Now it is unknown what our schools, what our tribunals, what the lovers of Latinity, ethics, and philosophy, owe to Cicero; and in proposing that a monument be raised, in the Amalthea at Arpinum, which may serve to bring his merits agreeably to our recollection, by placing them, as it were, before our eyes, I shall not, I trust, be taxed with the indulgence of a wild and spurious enthusiasm.

*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures ,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus —*

But it is not so much for the sake of paying a late posthumous tribute of applause to the Genius of Arpinum, that I propose the erection of this monument, as with the view of developing art in an interesting and satisfactory manner.

Without further extending these remarks then, it is proposed :

1. That subscription-books be opened in the houses of the principal bankers in Europe.
2. That the sum subscribed shall not exceed 30,000l.
3. That the house of Torlonia at Rome, be the central communicating, and finally receiving bank.
4. That a committee of three of the first antiquaries, or connoisseurs in Rome, be appointed to name the artists, who shall send in designs for the frescos about to be described.

This in progress, and the ground purchased, the first step will be to clear away the vines and pollard poplars in the Amalthea; the next, to

turn the road which leads from the village of Isola to Sora, by the *Isola Carnella*, or upper island. (*Compare the two topographical sketches.*) It remains then for me to proceed to the development of the proposed embellishments for the Amalthea. *Lubet mihi facere in Arpinati.*

TO THE MEMORY OF CONYERS MIDDLETON, ERNESTUS, AND ALL THE BIOGRAPHERS AND COMMENTATORS OF CICERO, THIS NEW BUILDING, AND OTHER EMBELLISHMENTS FOR THE AMALTHEA AT ARPINUM ARE INSCRIBED.

Fig. 12. (*See Frontispiece,*) is the elevation. The Ionic is from the Temple of Bacchus at Teos.

Fig. 13. is the ichnography of the building.

The dome of the rotunda is of the same ellipsis as that of the Pantheon. The inside will be impannelled like that edifice. The floors to be inlaid with two different coloured marbles of a bold and simple design. In the centre of the rotunda, under the *œil-de-bœuf*, will stand on a plain circular pedestal, a statue of the orator in his *toga consularis*, holding in his right hand a scroll inscribed :

DE LEGIBUS.

No inscription; not even his name. Each wing will be lighted with large sky-lights. The marble wainscoating, or *fregio basso intorno la stanza*, will be decorated in the frise, or central member, with Roman civic crowns cut in the solid marble, with an equidistance of eight *palmi*. The frescos about to be described, will each be separated by a continuity of Roman *fascies*, painted to imitate bronze, forming frames to each of the frescos, and continued under the cornice of the ceiling, and above the cornice of the wainscoating. Twelve Doric Antæ will decorate the inside of the rotunda. The sky-lights will be of strong plate-glass in copper frames.

Inscription for the frise of the rotunda.

EUROPA. MARCO. TULLIO. CICERONI.

THE FRESCOS (1).

I.

Ætat. 6. Cicero with the *bullæ*, at play with his brother Quintus, by the great cataract of the Liris; his mother Helvia eyeing them with complacency.

(1) See the corresponding numbers in the ichnography.

II.

Ætat. 16. *Prætextatus*, he disputes on the necessary qualifications of an orator with Julius Cæsar, then also a boy, in the presence of Mutius Scævola, and other eminent lawyers, in a villa of Tusculum.

III.

Ætat. 28. His attendance to the philosophical discourses of Antiochus, in the grove of the academy at Athens.

IV.

Ætat. 29. He declaims in Greek, in the presence of Apollonius Molo at Rhodes. Molo mute with astonishment and regret, on finding that through Cicero, the Romans were destined to eclipse the Greeks in eloquence.

V.

Ætat. 32. Quæstor in Sicily, he revives the notice of the tomb of Archimedes.

VI.

Ætat. 37. He arrives at Agrigentum, covered with dust and sweat. The Agrigentines crowd round him with testimonials respecting the iniquity of Verres. The tem-

ple of AEsculapius, mentioned in one of the orations, the ruins of which still exist, to be restored; and the surrounding landscape to be preserved.

VII.

AEtat. 44. The delivery of the first Catilinarian in the temple of Jupiter Stator. The likenesses of the best reputed busts to be preserved.

VIII.

AEtat. 49. *Pullatus*, he harangues the Clodian faction; pelted with mud and stones by the populace, he is compelled to retire. His house on the Palatine fired in the distance.

IX.

AEtat. 50. His entrance into Rome, on his return from exile, amid the acclamations of his country. *Humeris Italiæ à Brundisio Romam usque reportatus.*

X.

AEtat. 58. Habited as *Imperator*, on horseback, he orders the fortress of Pindenessus to be stormed, after a siege of forty-seven days.

XI.

Ætat. 61. His delivery of the *Pro Quinto Ligario* in the presence of Cæsar. Cæsar letting fall unconsciously some papers, riveted by the power of the eloquence.

XII.

Ætat. 63. The delivery of the *conspiciuæ divinæ Philippicæ famæ*. The portrait of Antonius is known from medals.

XIII.

Ætat. 64. The assassination near Cajeta. Cicero in the act of extending his head, and exclaiming : *Moriar in patriâ sæpe servatâ*. The landscape to be preserved.

XIV.

His mangled head and amputated hands nailed to the Roman rostra; the spectators expressing their sorrow and indignation at the spectacle.

Ita relatum caput ad Antonium ; jussuque ejus inter duas manus in rostris positum , ubi ille Consul , ubi sæpe consularis , ubi eo ipso anno adversus Antonium , quanta nulla unquam humana vox cum admiratione eloquentiæ , auditus

fuerat. Vix attollentes lacrymis oculos homines intueri trucidata membra ejus poterant. Tit. Liv.

Civitas lacrymas tenere non potuit, cùm recisum Ciceronis caput, in illis suis rostris videretur. Florus.

Præcipuè tamen solvit pectora omnium in lacrymas, gemitusque, visa ad caput ejus deligata manus dextra, divinæ sapientiæ ministra; cæterorumque cædes privatos luctus excitaverunt; illa una, communem. Crem. Cordus.

Nos. XV. XVI. XVII. and XVIII. will exhibit Personifications of Poetry, Eloquence, Law, and Philosophy, painted to imitate statues in recesses.

No. 1. at the head of the island, *ubi quasi rostro finditur Fibrenus*, shall exhibit an ideal sitting statue of Helvia, mother of the orator. (*See the second topographical sketch.*)

Inscription for the pedestal.

HELVIA. MATER. M. T. CICERONIS.

Group of oaks, acacias, cedars, poplars, and Italian pines.

No. 2. will be a plain Greek cippus of white marble, with the following inscription :

TERENTIA.

AVE.

ET. TU. TULLIA. M. T. CIC.

FILIA. DILECTA.

AVE.

Group of planes, oaks, weeping willows, and cypresses.

No. 3. will be an ideal statue of Marcus Filius *in prætextâ*, holding a scroll inscribed :

DE OFFICIIS.

Group of ilex, oaks, chesnuts, and willows.

No. 4. shall be an ideal sitting statue of Titus Pomponius Atticus, holding three scrolls inscribed :

EPISTOLAE AD ATTICUM.

DE AMICITIA.

DE SENECTUTE.

Group of poplars intertwined with vines, limes, oaks, and planes.

No. 5. will be a statue of Quintus Hortensius with two scrolls inscribed :

HORTENSIVS.

DE CLARIS ORATORIBUS.

Trees as before.

No. 6. will be a copy of the statue of Cneius Pompeius Magnus, preserved in the Spada palace, supposed to be the same at the foot of which Cæsar fell, grasping a scroll inscribed :

PRO LEGE MANILIA.

Group of oaks, poplars, cedars, planes, and Italian pines.

No. 7. will be a sitting statue of Marcus Brutus, holding four scrolls inscribed :

ORATOR.

DE FINIBUS BONORUM ET MALORUM.

DE NATURA DEORUM.

TUSCULANAE QUAESTIONES.

Trees as before.

Nos. 8. will be two marble seats by the falls of the Fibrenus.

No. 9. shall be the *Mariana quercus rediva*, with the following inscription placed horizontally under the tree :

DUM. LATINAE.

LOQUUNTUR. LITERAE.

NON. DEERIT. HUIC. LOCO.

MARLANA. QUERCUS.

No. 10. will be an avenue of oaks leading to the Amalthea.

Fig. 11. (See Frontispiece) will be an elliptical foot-bridge for the Fibrenus. On each side of the river the earth will be piled as high as the *abaci* of the two Doric *frusta*, supported by plain slanting masonry. The entablature then will form the rail-way to the bridge. The trees in the Amalthea, though chiefly connected, will each have room to display an individual beauty.

The bridge will be closed with strong iron gates, and the key will be kept at the Dominican convent.

The Liris, and both branches of the Fibrenus being deep and rapid, no other fence will be necessary.

I have thus endeavoured to project a building which may serve to recal agreeably at his birth-place, the merit of one of the brightest ornaments of our species, and at the same time to develop art in an interesting and classical manner. If the plan be approved, future travellers will find that there is something *beyond* modern Rome worth visiting; something full as satisfactory as cross-keys and tiaras, in the Amalthea at Arpinum.

Quin

*Quin ipse, verè dicam, sum illi villæ amior
modo factus; valete lectores, et istum, ubi Tul-
lius est natus, plus amate posthac locum (1).*

(1) De Legg. II. sub init.

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# EXCURSION

FROM NAPLES TO THE

## ISLE OF CAPRI :

In a Letter to a Friend in England.

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..... *antiqui saxosa Telonis*  
*Insula. — SIL. ITAL.*

---

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I SENT, pursuant to your request, a short account of my excursion to Arpino; accept now a description of the tour, which I made last autumn, in the island of Capri. You know that no painting can exist without corresponding light and shade. Arpino then shall be the bright side of my picture; Capri, the dark.

The isle of Capri, situated under the same meridian as Naples, is distant from that capital about seventeen miles; three, from the *Punta di Campanella*, anciently called the Athenæan promontory; and about thirteen, from cape Miseno. It is composed of two lofty mountains; the highest of which to the west, is called Ana-

capri, (*quasi* *Αντικπαραι* ) which rises to the elevation of eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea. The island does not exceed nine miles in circumference, including the sinuosities of the shores; and its whole surface is picturesque and savage in the extreme. Anciently it contained two small towns; but Strabo tells us that under Augustus, there was only one. The population now amounts to three thousand five hundred souls. His present Sicilian Majesty has lately established two seminaries for boys and girls, and a nautical school. The island produces good wine of a dry flavour, and abundance of fruit; but little or no corn. It is much frequented by quails; upwards of sixty thousand of which are exported annually for the supply of the Neapolitan markets. Capri, in remote antiquity, was colonized by the *Teleboi*, a people who inhabited the islands of the *Echinades*, and that part of Greece near the *Achelous*. The *Teleboi*, whose leader was one *Telon*, are alluded to in the following lines of the seventh *Æneid* :

. . . . *quem generâsse Telon Sebethide nymphâ  
Fertur, Teleboum Capreas cûm regna teneret.*

Statius also mentions them as inhabitants of *Capreæ*; but when they came, and how long they dwelt there, is unknown.

But this wild and precipitous rock is more memorable from having been the retreat of a man, who systematized tyranny more completely than any despot either before, or since his period. A rocky island has in our times become the involuntary abode of another despot, inferior perhaps in genius to Tiberius; who *voluntarily* made Capri his retreat, and the nest of his impurities.

Taking advantage of a fine October morning, we embarked near the light-house of Naples, which stands at the end of a mole, projected with such boldness, that ships of the line can ride within the pier. After a sail of four hours, we landed at the *sbarco di Capri*, the only accessible point in the island. Immediately on landing, we scaled what may be rather called a rude flight of steps than a road, and found a small but tolerable inn in the *metropolis* of Capri, surrounded by groves of fruit-trees, and commanding noble sea-views on either side. Having made engagements with a muleteer, we bent our course to the eastern side of the island,

preceded by a hardy Capri peasant. Observe ; my dear friend, that Tiberius erected his villas on the eastern side of this insular rock ; none of them were more than three miles apart ; some were within a stone's throw of each other. These palaces were twelve in number, and dedicated to the twelve major deities.

The retreat of the tyrant to Capri is recorded by Tacitus, with his usual majesty of expression : *Capreas se in insulam abdidit, trium millium freto ab extremis Surrentini promontorii disjunctam : Solitudinem ejus placuisse maximè crediderim, quoniam importuosum circa mare, et vix modicis navigiis, pauca subsidia, neque adpulerit quisquam nisi gnaro custode. Cæli temperies hieme mitis, objectu montis, quo sæva ventorum arcentur. Æstas in Favonium obversus, et aperto circum pelago, peramæna, antequam Vesuvius, mons ardescens, faciem loci verteret. Græcos ea tenuisse, Capreasque Telebois habitatus fama tradit.* And in another passage : *sed tum Tiberius duodecim villarum nominibus, et molibus insederat.* You remember also, no doubt, Suetonius : *Capreas se contulit, præcipuè delectatus insula, quod uno, parvoque littore adiretur, septa undique præruptis immensæ alti ;*



*tudinis rupibus, et profundo maris.* Ascending continually eastward, presented every few yards with fresh views of the most novel, striking, and romantic description, we reached a spot called *Moneta* by the inhabitants. As Juno was worshipped under that title at Rome, and as some vestiges of reservoirs and an aqueduct are still visible, it is conjectured that this was the *Juno* of Tiberius. A reference to the little chart annexed, will enable you to form a pretty correct idea of the sites of the Tiberian villas. About two hundred yards further, we reached a precipitous point, covered with the ruins of the Roman Pharos, which, if we may credit Suetonius, fell down a few days before the death of the tyrant : *et antè paucos quàm obiret dies, turris Phari terræmotu Capreis concidit.* Here a bas-relief was found, representing Lucilla and Crispina, the sister and wife of Commodus, who we know from Dio Cassius, were banished to Capri. The fine light cast by this Pharos, is alluded to by Statius in the following poetic lines :

*Telebounque domos, trepidis ubi dulcia nautis  
Lumina noctivagæ tollit Pharos æmula Lune.*

It was not without shuddering, my dear friend, that we approached the fatal precipice overhanging the sea, which still retains the name of *il Salto*. This is the celebrated *Saltus Caprearum*, the bare mention of which formerly turned so many Roman fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters pale. I cannot better describe it than in the words of Count Rezzonico : *scende, tagliato quasi a piombo, da spaventevole altezza nel mare, e dalle acute sue protuberanze, dovevan essere lacere le vittime immolate dall' empio tiranno alla sua vendetta*. This also is the spot alluded to in the terrific words of Suetonius : *Carnificinæ ejus ostenduntur, locus Capreis, undè damnatos, post longa et exquisita tormenta, præcipitari coram se in mare jubebat, excipiente classiariorum manu, et contis atque remis elidente cadavera, ne cui residui spiritus quidquam inesset*.

The *Salto* rises full seven hundred feet from the sea.

I remarked that the rocks about the precipice are very rugged, making the approach to the edge difficult of access; but it is evident that the tyrant, for the space of about five yards, had ordered them to be levelled, that the con-

demned might be made to take clean and flying leaps in his presence. I tried to banish the remembrance of these cruelties, by the cheerful view of the Athenæan promontory, gilded with the declining sun; which though three miles off, appeared within a gun-shot; of the classical isles called *i Galli*, sounding with the screams of gulls and sea-mews, the

*Sirenum scopulos, multorumque ossibus albos,*

of Virgil; I may add also of Tiberius, in reference to the last hemistich. On the opposite side of the bay of Salerno, the Doric grandeur of the Posidonian temples, though full thirty miles off, was just discernible. Leaving the *Salto*, we presently reached the remains of the *Villa Jovis*. Here there are several subterraneous arched chambers, which communicated with each other, and which from their construction, I have little doubt were the *torturing dungeons* annexed to the *Jupiter* of Tiberius. We noticed slight remains of fresco on the uppermost apartments. A fine mosaic pavement was found here in the last century; together with columns of *giallo antico*, cameos, intaglios, and a statue of a nymph of Greek workmanship.

Suetonius tells us that the tyrant shut himself up in this villa, after he had crushed the conspiracy of Sejanus : *oppressa conjuratione Sejani, per novem proximos menses, non egressus est è villâ, quæ vocatur Jovis.*

We found here a bearded hermit, who offers up his daily orisons in a chapel dedicated to *S. Maria del Soccorso*, where Tiberius sealed the misery and degradation of Rome. It was probably among these rocks, that the poor Capri fisherman climbed, to present to Tiberius a large mullet, for which he hoped a proportionate recompense. Suetonius, as I dare say you remember, tells us that he found the tyrant *secretum agentem*; who startled at the unexpected intrusion, ordered the fisherman to be smitten on the face with the mullet. Congratulating himself while under punishment, that he had not presented at the same time a lobster, which he had in his basket, Tiberius took the hint, and ordered his face to be scourged with the prickly shell of that amphibious fish ; *cru- deliter os lacerari imperavit.* Such anecdotes present a deplorable picture of those times, and often make me think that the world is better now than it ever was. Had it been a proconsul

gorged with the pillage of a province, we should enjoy the anecdote with zest.

Quitting the *Villa Jovis*, we descended *per asperrimas immensæque altitudinis rupes*, to a vast natural grotto, called *La Matromania*, (*quasi magnum Mithræ antrum*,) supposed to have been consecrated to Mithras; for a bas-relief was there found representing that Deity striding the ox, pulling up his nostrils, and plunging a dagger in his throat; the dogs licking the blood, and the scorpion at the genitals; exactly as pictured by Dupuis, Lenoir, and others. You know that Mithras was always worshipped in caverns, or artificial excavations. Lebruyñ pictures a temple to him of this sort, which he saw in Persia; and the Borghese Mithras was found in a cave under the Campidoglio; as was another at Puzzuoli.

In the year 1750, a Greek epitaph was also unearthed at *Matromania*, which, as it contains some pathetic lines, I will transcribe for your amusement, with the Italian translation of Count Rezzonico :

Οἱ Στυγίους χώρους ὑπανάειτε, Δαίμονες ἐσθλοί,  
Διῆσθ' εἰς Αἰδὼν, καὶ μὲ τὸν οἰκτροτάτον,

Οὐ κρίτει ἐκ μοιρῶν ἠρπασμένον, ἀλλὰ βίαια  
 Αἰζηῖν θάλατταν, μῆνιος ἔξ' ἀδίκου.  
 Ἄρτι μὲν ἐν προκοπῇ τάξει παρὰ δισποτεοντι,  
 Ἄρτι δὲ καὶ γονέων ἐλπίδ' ἐμὴν σφραγίσας.  
 Οὐ δέκα πεντ' ἐτέων, οὐδ' εἰκοσι τέρμ' ἐνιαυτῶν  
 Ἐκτελέσας, γέροντος οὐκ ἐσθρῶ το Φαός.  
 Τυνομα μοι ἵππατος· λιτομαι δ' ἐτι τὸν συνομαιμον.  
 Τουσδε γονεις κλαίειν μηκετι τους ταλανας.

*Demoni invitti abitator di Stige,  
 Me pur d' ogni altro più tapin vi piaccia  
 Nel pallid' Orco ricettar. Non io  
 Son dulle Parche, ma da forza tratto  
 D' ingiusta morte ed improvvisa; assai  
 M' aveva de' doni suoi Cesare ornato;  
 Or de' miei padri la speranza, e mia  
 Tronca riman. Non quindici anni avea  
 Non venti, ah! lasso! e più non veggio il  
 giorno!*

*Ipato è il nome. I genitor ne priego,  
 E il misero fratel cessin dal pianto.*

As some marble fragments have been found in the neighbourhood of this cavern, and as Apollo is synonymous with Mithras, I think we may place here the *Apollo* of Tiberius. Here there is a noble view of the two pinnacled promontories, called *il Tuoro grande e piccolo*, probably the *Taurubulæ* of Statius, alluded to in the following lines:

... dities *Capreæ*, *viridesque* *resultant*  
*Taurubulæ*, *et terris ingens redit æquoris Echo.*

Observe what sublimity environs this little rock; every thing here is *alla Dantesca*.

The sun was tinging the *Taurubulæ* with its last rays, when we returned to our little inn; where a good dish of quails, and dry Capri wine banished our fatigues, and all recollections of Tiberius for the day,

.... *angustâ Caprearum in rupe sedentis*  
*Cum grege Chaldæo.*

The next morning early, we bent our steps to the southern side of the island; and about a quarter of a mile from the town of Capri, reached a row of twenty-one arched chambers in ruins, called by the inhabitants, *Le camerelle*. These are supposed to have been the notorious *Spintriæ et Sellarii*, which make such a noise in the Annals; for the arrangement corresponds with the description of them given by Suetonius; *cubicula plurifariam disposita*. Medals of a vile description, are frequently dug out of these chambers; and they are known in Italy by the title of the *Spintrian medals*. One of the names of the hopeful supervisors of the Tiberian sys-

tem of education established in Capri, appears in the following inscription on one of them :

C. MITREIVS. MAG. IVVENT.

You remember perhaps, the fine passage in the Annals : *saxa rursum et solitudinem maris repetiit, pudore scelerum et libidinum, quibus adeo indomitis exarserat, ut more regio pubem ingenuam stupris pollueret, nec formam tantum et decora corpora, sed in his, modestam pudicitiam, in aliis, imagines majorum, incitamentum cupidinis haberet. Tuncque primum iguota autè vocabula reperta sunt Sellariorum, et Spintriarum, ex fœditate loci, ac multiplici patientiâ.*

His infamy also is strongly expressed in Suetonius : *secessu verò Capreensi, etiam sellariam excogitavit sedem arcanarum libidinum, in quam undique conquisiti puellarum et exoletorum greges, monstrosique concubitûs repertores, quos Spintrias appellabat, triplici serie connexi, invicem incestarent se coram ipso, ut deficientes libidines excitarent. Cubicula plurifariam disposita, tabellis ac sigillis lascivissimarum picturarum et figurarum adornavit, librisque Elephantidis instruxit, ne cui in operâ edendâ exemplar imperatæ schemæ deesset. In sylvâ*



*quoque ac nemoribus, passim Venereos locos commentus est; prostantesque per antra, et cavas rupes, ex utriusque sexús pube Paniscorum. et Nympharum habitu, palamque jam et vulgato nomine insulæ abutentes, Caprineum dictitabant. Majore adhuc et turpiore infamiâ flagravît — vix ut referri, audirive, nedum credi fas sit!*

But let us turn from these topics which place human nature in so odious a point of view. Below these *camerelle*, stands the Carthusian monastery in a delicious situation; and the only one in the island; it is supposed to have been built on the foundations of another of the villas. Here there is an echo which returns three distinct responses. About half a mile to the left, is the *Punta di Tragara*, forming a small port, where it is supposed that the emperor kept a squadron to reconnoitre the roads. Some remains of hydraulic works, which have braved hitherto the fury of the sea, and slight vestiges of parterres, lead us to conjecture that this is the site of one of the fructuarian villas laid out by the imperial recluse.

We afterwards ascended to *Castiglione*, now occupied by a small fort, certainly another of the villas; and from the discovery of several

bas-reliefs representing fishes, sirens, and marine monsters, supposed to have been dedicated to the æquorean Neptune. It was raised on arches, the construction of which inclines me to think that this villa was of a polygonal form. Here was found a valuable mosaic covered with astrological signs; (you know Tiberius was much addicted to that science,) together with a bas-relief representing him with a *patera* in his hand, and in the act of sacrificing. Here too, there are some vestiges of reservoirs.

One of the most delightful of his retreats was at *San Michele*, an eminence between the town of Capri, and the *Villa Jovis*. Here there are substructions of a terrace which projected over the cliffs; and several fragments of *cipollino* and *giallo antico* have been found. Traces of aqueducts conducted with care round the hills, shew probably that this was another of the fructuarian villas, embellished with the most luxurious gardens. Here peradventure the tyrant, as he paced the terraces with his astrologer Thrasylus,

*reason'd high*

*Of fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute;  
And found no end in wand'ring mazes lost.*

Here

Here perhaps, he penned that extraordinary letter to the senate, the beginning of which has been transmitted to us by Tacitus: *Quid scribam vobis, aut quomodo, aut quid omnino non scribam? Di me Deæque pejùs perdant, quàm me perire quotidie sentio, si scio.*

Here too as he gazed on Vesuvius, his implacable spirit would burst forth with that terrible line of Euripides, often on his lips :

*Εμou θανοντος γαia μυχθητω πυρ.*

In vain did he endeavour to soothe his troubled heart with the view of the azure mirror of the Neapolitan gulph, of *desidiosa et ridens Parthenope*, expanding her luxuriant shores from the Surrentine promontory to the *littus beatæ Veneris aureum*. All was black within.

You remember, no doubt, the probation of fidelity, which he made Thrasyllus go through at Rhodes. Having conducted him over frightful precipices, accompanied by a stout and trusty slave, he asked him *suspensis et obscuris verbis*: *My dear Thrasyllus, hast thou considered attentively thine own horoscope?* The astrologer having taken his sidereal observations, paused for a few moments, then trembling said : that he was aware that some uncertain but dismal

destiny was at hand. Upon this Tiberius embraced him, bade him be of good cheer, and from that hour Thrasyllus never departed from him.

Suetonius tells us that Tiberius was *circa Deos ac religiones negligentior, persuasione plenus cuncta fato agi*. Revolving, as I often have, these things within my mind, it may be questioned whether or no, after all, there be not some truth in the sidereal influences. We know that the most transcendant spirits of antiquity often disregarded the mere priest sacrificing at the altar; while the skilful astrologer always made them pause, often tremble. It is perhaps one of the knottiest speculations that can occupy the human mind; which the feebleness of our reason prevents us from implicitly believing; the mysterious links of the system to which we belong, from rejecting.

Our next object was the palace on the beach facing Naples, and under the precipitous rocks of Anacapri. Its ruins are now beat by the waves. It certainly did not yield in magnificence to the *Villa Jovis*. Among the treasures in art here discovered, are numerous columns of *cipollino* and *giallo antico*, Corinthian capitals,

a ruined stair-case of white marble, and mosaic pavements. The fragments of statues and marble ornaments dug from the ruins, amount to the enormous quantity of sixteen hundred tons! An altar decorated with the emblems of the Berecynthian worship, has led to the conjecture that this was the *Cybele* of Tiberius. Contiguous is the *Campo di Pisco*, where there is a small level plain, a great rarity in Capri. I will not trouble you further with an account of the profusion of *rosso*, *giallo*, and *verde antico*, *serpentino*, *affricano*, *cipollino*, and *lapis-lazuli* here discovered; but let me state once for all, that the mosaics, and Corinthian capitals of the Tiberian villas, are models of their kind; that there is even a marble unknown elsewhere, called *il marmo Tiberiano*. A bust of Vesta having been here discovered, Count Rezzonico presumes that this was the *Vesta* of Tiberius. The eleventh of the tyrant's villas was at a spot called *Ajano*. Of the columns here found, four of *giallo antico* all of one piece, now adorn the chapel at Caserta; and eight others, the principal church in Capri.

The twelfth and last is in a vineyard called *Le Grotte*; and certainly the most interesting

of the ruins in the island. Here there are four subterraneous arched chambers, 228 feet in length, 38 in breadth, and 35 in height. But what is most curious is, that one of them is nearly filled with a great quantity of pulverized chalk of an exquisite fineness, which the tyrant probably had introduced for the manufacture of his porcelain vases; perhaps those *vasa Myrrhina* mentioned by Plinius, and which some of the French antiquaries suppose were somewhat similar to the Sèvres manufactory. Two of them are nearly filled with the purest water. The chalk is mixed with some metallic substance, which deserves the attention of the experienced chemist.

We found here an honest Capri vintner, who on seeing us approach, exclaimed : *Signori, roba di Tiberio Cesare!* We expected at least a splendid mosaic, or statue; but he introduced us into his wine-vault; where he had arranged a good dozen of casks filled with the produce of his vineyard. He tapped one, then a second, then a third, exclaiming as he presented each, foaming goblet, *Signor, un' altro!* with a red cap on his head, and a nose like Bardolph's. The good humour of this Capri wag, who ap-

peared determined to make us something more than men of *taste*, presented an agreeable contrast to the sombre character of the tyrant, whose villa he now occupies. It was probably some such *drôle* as this, that furnished Homer with his ludicrous description of Vulcan, in the first Iliad :

Ἀσβεστός δ' ἀρ' ἐνώτο γέλως μακαροσσι θεοῖσιν,  
Ὡς ἰδὼν Ἡφαιστον διὰ δώματα πομπύοντα.

We next ascended the precipice of Anacapri by a zig-zag flight of 538 steps, resembling in miniature, the celebrated passage of the Gemmi in Switzerland; and reached after an hour's ride, the little town of Anacapri, built on a small level, and inhabited by a frugal and laborious peasantry. From the neighbouring precipice, where stands a ruined castle of the middle ages, we rolled as large stones as we could move into the vale below; the noise of them rebounding from rock to rock, a full thousand feet and more, cannot be better described than in the lines of Statius :

... dities Capreæ, viridesque resultant  
Taurubulæ, rediitque ingens à rupibus Echo.

Picture to your imagination, my dear friend, the columnar and *torreggianti* appearance of

Capri, when occupied by Tiberius; who seems to have taken pleasure in building arches, where no one else would have dreamed of turning them; in erecting columns, where no one else would have thought it practicable to haul them up, much less to rear them—picture the gallees arriving from *Baiæ* and *Puteoli*, not loaded with poor felons guilty of stealing a few sesterces; but with proconsuls, senators, knights, prætors, and military commanders, who had pillaged whole provinces; for such was the game of Tiberius—picture them on landing, dragged by centurions up the *crypto-porticus* to the *Villa Jovis*; there to undergo the torture, and thence to be hurried to the *Salta*; the tyrant thundering in their ears: *Nondum vobis in gratiam redii* (1): picture the galleons approaching the isle from Alexandria, Sybaris, the *molle Tarentum*, and *Antiochia ad Daphnen*, fraught with marbles, luxuries, courtezans, and artists of all kinds; the rocks of Anacapri covered with theatrical Pans, Satyrs, and Nymphs, not creeping out by dusk, but reeking with

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(1) These were the words he used, as we learn from Suetonius.



unguents and vermilion in the broad blaze of a Neapolitan sun!

Before leaving Anacapri, I took out my favourite Cornelius, and dwelt with interest on the following passages, every word of which bears the impress of genius : *Jacuit immensa strages — omnis sexus, omnis ætas, illustres, ignobiles, dispersi, aut aggerati; neque propinquis, aut amicis adsistere, illacrymare, ne visere quidem diutius dabatur. Sed circumjecti custodes, et in mœrorem cujusque intenti; corpora putrefacta adsectabantur, dum in Tiberim traherentur: ubi fluitantia, aut ripis adpulsa, non cremare quisquam, non contingere: interciderat sortis humanæ commercium vi metûs; quantumque sævitia glisceret, miseratio arcebatur. . . . .*

*. . . . . Jam Tiberium corpus, jam vires, nondum dissimulatio deserebat: idem animi rigor; sermone ac vultu intentus, quæsitâ interdum comitate, quamvis manifestam defectionem tenebat. . . . .*

Of the moral of Tiberius, my dear friend, there never was, and never can be formed but one opinion. The line of policy which he observed, has not however in general, been rightly understood. Indiscriminating people are

apt to class him with the Caligulas, the Neros, the Domitians. It appears to me that he became exasperated at the commencement of his political career, from the iniquity of his countrymen; which soured a disposition, and corrupted a heart naturally not ill inclined; for it is certain that he began well (1). When he left the senate with those impressive words : *o homines ad servitutem paratos!* he shewed, I think, sentiments of regret and disgust at the vileness of his countrymen, and a determination to let them know what he thought of them. No good man, it is true, could adopt such a principle of action. His superiority however to Napoleon in the direction of his energies, is manifest; for that emperor almost uniformly let fall his despotism, where it should not. His severe conscriptions harassed the cheerful French peasant, who was the principal sufferer by his system, which

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(1) *Egregius famâ vitâque fuit, quoad privatus, vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit.* Annal. VI.

Suetonius tells us that when young, he pleaded several causes with success; that he composed some lyrical compositions in Greek, which language he spoke with fluency; and that he followed his brother's funeral on foot, through Germany to Rome.

nourished bloodshed, pride, and ferocity. Not so Tiberius. He attacked alone the citadel of corruption itself. Odious as was his principle, there was something magnanimous in this. It was a point which Napoleon had not force of genius to reach ; though it must be confessed that Tiberius was his inferior in the encouragement of science and art ; perhaps too in some other respects. It is certain that the colonies were never so well administered as in his reign ; and it is probable that the terror which his name inspired, had a good effect in making the proconsuls, and their subordinate officers, less rapacious in their extortions, and more attentive to the performance of their duties. We cannot discover from Tacitus, that he was severe in the colonies, or even *generally* in Italy ; on the contrary, he states that Tiberius treated the provinces not only with lenity, but great consideration (1). Rome, Rome, the sink of corruption, felt the lash of his tyranny ; and

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(1) *Ne provinciæ novis oneribus turbarentur, atque vetera sine avaritiâ, aut crudelitate magistratuum tolerarent, corporum verbera, ademptiones bonorum abessent, providebat. Rari per Italiam Cæsaris agri. Annal. II.*

I think it may be said of him that no man ever directed a thoroughly bad principle so well as Tiberius Cæsar.

His powers of foresight seem to have been extraordinary. You remember, no doubt, the anecdote of his placing his hand on Galba's head, and saying : *Thou too, Galba, shalt have a smack of the empire !*

He appears to have delighted in solving alone in his aerial mansions, the most difficult political problems; and we must do him this justice, that he was anxious to preserve the empire in peace; though it is pretty certain that war would have tended to consolidate his power (1).

The blow which he levelled at the interest and fortunes of Germanicus, was perhaps the most daring stroke of policy recorded in history; and though we of course side with the latter, we cannot resist from being struck with the talents which Tiberius displayed on the occasion. For Germanicus, by his birth, ser-

The reign of Tiberius appears indeed to have been nothing more or less than a reaction of ill from the colonies to the capital.

(1) *Lætiorè Tiberio, quia pacem sapientiâ firmaverat, quàm si bellum per acies confecisset.* Annal. II.

vices, good conduct, and esteem with the army, had completely secured the tide of popular favour; while the emperor, by a dismal fatality, to use Milton's words, applied to him, was always *hated of all and hating*.

It is pretty evident to those who read the *Annals* with attention, that as Germanicus stood so high, a crisis one way or the other, was scarcely avoidable; especially as the empire, notwithstanding the dexterous policy of Augustus, stood but on precarious foundations; and seems rather to have depended on the reigning favourite with the army, than on the newly-established hereditary pretensions, and right.

There is one point in which it is difficult not to side with him. I allude to that political *capo d'opera* the crushing of Sejanus; who owed his rise and fortune solely to Tiberius; and who repaid him with contriving his ruin. But the invisible hand of the recluse of Capri sawed away the timbers which supported the superstructure of the presumptuous minister's ambition, and which he had raised with such fond expectations — down it fell with a crash that resounded from Caledonia to the Gara-

mantes—down with it Ælius Sejanus—a grin was heard from the *Villa Jovis*—the wretch had just sufficient time to stare at his own ruin.

Of the monuments of this singular man, the most esteemed is the *Tiberius velatus* of the Vatican; where there is also a sitting statue of him lately found at Privernum, a small town in the Apennines, there is a good bust in the Campidoglio; and a colossal one in the *Studi* at Naples. But the most expressive is, I think, a bronze of Herculaneum. I have seen him represented in England like a gross butcher; but his features in this bust are by no means coarse. Nose pointed; mouth finely formed; eyes instantaneous, prominent, and as if they would penetrate the inmost recesses of your soul; ears erect, as if pricked by the slightest noise. Over the whole cast of countenance, there is a *δευροτι και αλωπηκοειδης*. Such was Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero. To describe his features may be no difficult task; but to paint the *inner man*, the powers of a Tacitus seem scarcely competent.

Augustus, a far more interesting personage than his successor, visited Capri at the close of his life, as we learn from Suetonius. Before

taking leave of the island, let us follow this illustrious man at the termination of his eventful career. Finding his constitution shattered, he returned some legal cases which had been submitted for his inspection, to the law-officers, observing *se nunquam posthac Romæ futurum*. Accompanied by some chosen friends, he went to Astura, where he was somewhat recruited by change of air. Coasting the shores of Campania, he arrived at Baiæ, where he took shipping for Capri. As he crossed the Puteolan bay, he was met by the crew of an Alexandrian vessel, who dressed in white, and crowned with chaplets, burnt frankincense before him; *se per illum vivere, se per illum navigare jurantes*; a ceremony, which appears to have exhilarated the dying emperor, who distributed a sum of money among his followers, enjoining them to spend it in the purchase of the Alexandrian merchandize. At Capri, we find him attending the gymnastic exercises of the island; *remisissimo ad otium, et omnem comitatem animo*.

Being at supper with Tiberius, he saw some of his attendants celebrating by torch-light the funeral of Masgabas, one of his courtiers, in

a neighbouring island; *apud vicinam Capreis insulam*; which the emperor joking called *Apragopolis*, or *the city of the idlers*. It is not easy to discover the island here alluded to; for Ischia, Procida, or Nesita, seem, either of them, too remote to correspond with the words of Suetonius. We are left to conjecture or that the biographer expressed himself ill; or that the convulsions to which the neighbourhood of Naples is so liable, must have occasioned the disappearance of the isle, and its *imperial capital*, *the city of the idlers*.

We had been forty hours among the rocks of Capri; and having gratified our curiosity with the ruins of the Tiberian villas, embarked on a delicious evening for — *Neapolis*; I had almost written *Apragopolis*. Vesuvius was in activity, and discharged frequent and loud explosions. But it is time to bring this letter to a close, for I see you exclaiming with Juvenal: *Ohe, jam satis! verbosa et grandis epistola venit à Capreis*.



## POSTSCRIPT.

ON recurring to the architectural lucubration of the first pages of this work, it may be questioned whether or no I have gained sufficient height for my building. If not, the remedy is simple: for *five rows of columns eastward*, read *four*; for *nine rows of columns westward*, read *eight*; and for *five rows of columns northward and southward*, read *four*. Which alteration will reduce the length in either direction nearly one hundred feet. Further consideration indeed suggests that these proportions would be preferable. In page 9, line 16 for *eastern*, read *western*; in page 80, line 9 for *wiih*, read *with*; in page 198, line 8, for *phisiognomy*, read *physiognomy*.





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